

STANLEY ARONOWITZ: LESSONS FROM THE DEMOCRATS' DEBACLE, PAGES 8-9

THE INDYPENDENT

Issue #158, November 17-December 14, 2010
A FREE PAPER FOR FREE PEOPLE

Insecure Communities

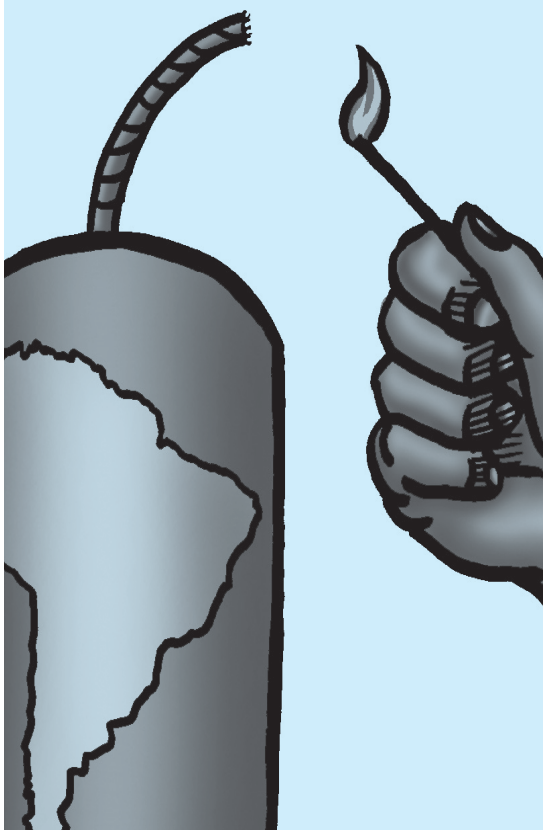
FEDS TARGET NYC IMMIGRANTS FOR MORE DEPORTATIONS

By RENÉE FELTZ P10



Members of Families for Freedom, a local defense group for immigrants facing deportation. PHOTO: SOPHIE FORBES

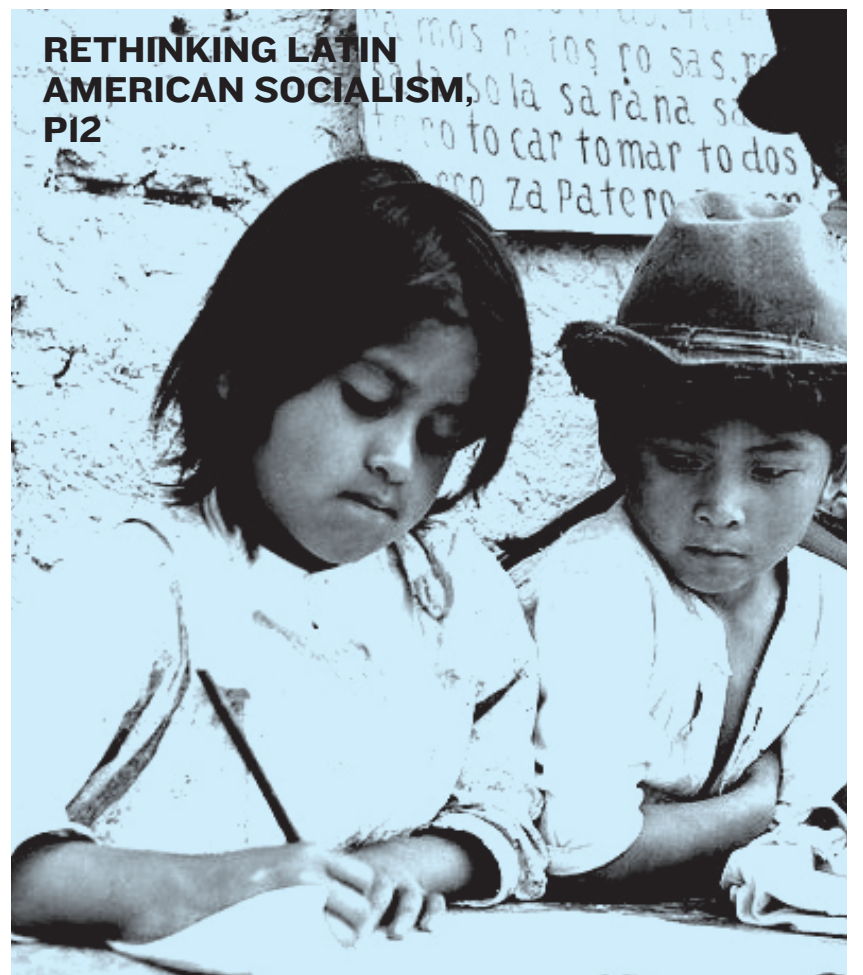
**UTOPIA, VIOLENCE
AND THE STATE,
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**HOW TO MANUFACTURE
A TERRORIST, P6**



**RETHINKING LATIN
AMERICAN SOCIALISM,
P12**



INDYPENDENT.ORG



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The Indypendent is a New York-based free newspaper published 16 times a year on Wednesdays for our print and online readership of more than 200,000. It is produced by a network of volunteers who report, write, edit, draw, design, take photos, distribute, fundraise and provide website management. Since 2000, more than 650 journalists, artists and media activists have participated in this project. Winner of more than 50 New York Community Media Alliance awards, *The Indypendent* is funded by subscriptions, reader donations, grants, merchandise sales, benefits and advertising. We accept submissions that look at news and culture through a critical lens, exploring how systems of power — economic, political and social — affect the lives of people locally and globally. *The Indypendent* reserves the right to edit articles for length, content and clarity.

The Indypendent is affiliated with the New York City Independent Media Center, which is part of the global Indymedia movement, an international network that is dedicated to fostering grassroots media production, and to *IndyKids*, a children's newspaper. NYC IMC is an open publishing website (nyc.indymedia.org.)

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community calendar

PLEASE SEND EVENT ANNOUNCEMENTS TO INDYEVENTS@GMAIL.COM.

FRI NOV 19

7-11pm • \$25
FUNDRAISER: FAMILIES FOR FREEDOM.
Join Families for Freedom for their 4th annual benefit party. This year's honorees are Domestic Workers United and Minister Patricia Malcolm of Churches United to Save and heal. There will be a buffet, raffle and cash bar. Free childcare provided.
Judson Memorial Church
55 Washington Square South
646-290-5551 • familiesforfreedom.org

SUN NOV 21

3pm • \$3
READING: AN AFTERNOON WITH MERLE WOO: POETRY, POLITICS AND PASSION ON THE FRONT LINE OF FREEDOM.
Join us for a reading and open dialogue with Merle Woo, pioneering Korean-Chinese American lesbian writer, activist and retired lecturer in Asian American and Women's Studies. Co-sponsored by Radical Women and the Freedom Socialist Party. Proceeds to benefit the Freedom Hall Fall Fund Drive. Childcare provided. Work exchanges available (please call in advance).
Freedom Hall, 113 West 128th St.
212-222-0633 • fsp@nyct.net.

MON NOV 22

PROTEST: CUNY BOARD OF TRUSTEES MEETING.
4-6pm • Free
JOIN STUDENTS AND ACTIVISTS TO PROTEST THE BOARD'S DECISION TO RAISE TUITION BY 5 PERCENT IN SPRING 2011. Baruch College, 55 Lexington Avenue
917-494-5587 • dougsingsen@gmail.com

MON NOV 22

7pm-8pm • Free
TALK: *THE ATHEIST'S GUIDE TO CHRISTMAS*.
In this funny and provocative collection of new essays, 42 of the world's most entertaining non-believers offer their timely thoughts on what it means to be an atheist during the holidays-the good,

the bad and the unholy.
The Strand Books, 828 Broadway
(212) 473-1452 • strandbooks.com

TUE NOV 30

7:00pm • \$5 suggested
OPEN MIC: WOMEN'S/TRANS' POETRY JAM
. Bina Sharif reads excerpts from her ongoing projects *Manhattan Spleen* and *Sing Bird*, which offer an enlivened stream of consciousness into the lives of her characters. Christina Bruni reads from her memoir *Left of the Dial*, about the healing power of creativity and her rebellion in the face of illness.
Bluestockings Books
172 Allen Street
212-777-6028 • bluestockings.com

THU DEC 2

4pm • Free
DOCUMENTARY: *NO DINOSAURS IN HEAVEN*.
Come attend a sneak preview of this new documentary, produced by CCNY filmmaker and professor Andrea Weiss, followed by a panel discussion about the crisis of science literacy in America. The film exposes the tactics used by Christian fundamentalists to undermine the separation of church and state, and argues why science education is crucial in a healthy democracy.
City College
160 Convent Ave,
Steinman Hall Auditorium
212-650-5048 • cuny.edu

FRI DEC 3

8pm-12am • \$25-\$50
BENEFIT: CLOTHESLINE DELUXE, ART SALE AND HOLIDAY PARTY.
Our past Clothesline Shows were lots of fun, with many surprising things hanging on the line. Come make your own t-shirt in our print shop and participate in one of our last building-wide events. Proceeds benefit the ABC No Rio Building Fund.
ABC No Rio
156 Rivington Street
212-254-3697 • abcnorio.org

NOV—DEC

UPCOMING EVENTS

THE BRECHT FORUM

BUILDING A MOVEMENT THAT MOVES

451 West Street (btw Bank and Bethune)

MON NOV 22 • 7:30 PM

REVOLUTION FILM SERIES: SCENES FROM THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN PORTUGAL. Combining newsreel footage, still photographs, interviews and analytical narration, this documentary follows the evolution of the radical social movement that followed the April 24, 1974, military coup in Portugal. Sliding scale: \$6/\$10/\$15

SUN DEC 5 • 3PM

BOOK PARTY/FORUM: CLIMBIN' JACOB'S LADDER: THE BLACK FREEDOM MOVEMENT WRITINGS OF JACK O'DELL. Join us for a conversation about U.S. politics before, during and since the Second Reconstruction with strategists and organizer Jack O'Dell; labor activist and writer Bill Fletcher, Jr.; and professor and author Nikhil Singh. Sliding scale: \$6/\$10/\$15

SAT DEC 11 • 1PM

CELEBRATION: EDUCATION FOR LIBERATION.
Join us for a celebration of the Paulo Freire-based popular education program-ming that has been regularly presented at the Brecht Forum since the early 1990s. This collaborative event will bring together the Theater of the Oppressed Laboratory and other popular educators. Sliding scale: \$6/\$10/\$15

FOR INFORMATION AND TICKET RESERVATIONS

brechtforum.org
or 212-242-4201

WED DEC 8

6-9pm • \$108 and up
BENEFIT: CELEBRATING 20 YEARS OF STRUGGLE AND VICTORY. Come celebrate Jews for Racial and Economic Justice and the passage of the nation's first Domestic Worker Bill of Rights. Honorees and performers will include Si Kahn, the founding chair of Jewish Fund for Justice Yiddish culture innovator Adrienne Cooper and internationally ac-

claimed singer Stephan Said. Tickets are available on a sliding scale for seniors, students and low-income people. Congregation B'nai Jeshurun
88th Street between Broadway and West End Ave
212-647-8966 • jfrej.org

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120 Wall St., 10th floor

DC 37 Headquarters
125 Barclay St.

Bluestockings
172 Allen St.

Housing Works
126 Crosby St.

ABC No Rio
156 Rivington St.

Whole Earth Bakery
130 St. Mark's Place

Mercer St. Books
206 Mercer St.

New York Public Library
Jefferson Market Branch
Sixth Ave. & 9th St.

Brecht Forum
451 West St.

4th Street Food Co-op
58 E. 4th St

Theater for the New City
155 First Ave.

14TH TO 96TH ST.

Jefferson Market Library
6th Ave & 10th St.

Chelsea Square Restaurant
23rd St. & 9th Ave

Manhattan Neighborhood
Network
537 W. 59th St.

New York Public Library
Muhlenberg Branch
209 W. 23rd St.

St. Agnes Branch Library
444 Amsterdam Ave
(btwn 81st and 82nd)

ABOVE 96TH ST.

New York Public Library
George Bruce Branch
518 W. 125th St.

Book Culture
526 W. 112th St.

New York Public Library
Harlem Branch
9 W. 124th St.

New York Public Library
Hamilton Grange Branch
503 W. 145th St.

Uptown Sister's Books
156 St. & Amsterdam

Bloomingdale
Branch Library
150 W. 100th St.

BROOKLYN
Brooklyn Museum
200 Eastern Pkwy.

BAM
30 Lafayette Ave.

Tillie's of Brooklyn
248 DeKalb Ave.

Tea Lounge
Union St. & Seventh Ave.

Video Gallery
310 Seventh Ave.

Ozzie's Coffee Shop
249 5th Ave. &
57 Seventh Ave.

Verb Café
Bedford Ave. &
N. 5th St.

Videology
308 Bedford Ave.

Pillow Café
505 Myrtle Ave.

Sisters Community
Hardware
900 Fulton St.

Brooklyn Public Library
Pacific Street Branch
25 Fourth Ave.

K-Dog & Dune Buggy
43 Lincoln Rd.

Outpost Café
1014 Fulton St.

Blackbird Café
197 Bedford Ave.

'sNice Café
315 Fifth Ave.

Purity Diner
43 Underhill Ave.

Brooklyn
Public Library
Bedford Branch
496 Franklin St.

BRONX

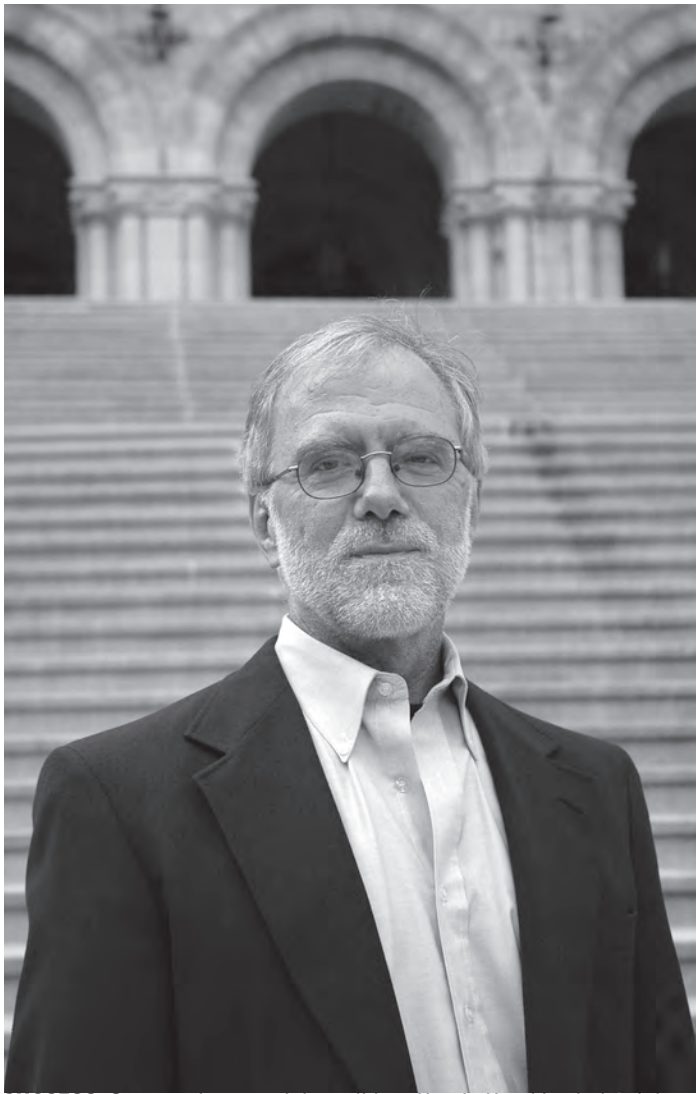
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A FREE PAPER FOR FREE PEOPLE

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SUCCESS: Green gubernatorial candidate Howie Hawkins helped the NYS Green Party secure a ballot line until 2014. PHOTO: DEVYA ARTHUR

Green Machine Dream

BY INDYPENDENT STAFF

Howie Hawkins, the Green Party candidate for Governor of New York, received more than 58,000 votes in the Nov. 2 election. This means the Green Party will have a ballot line for the next four years. While the Greens snagged 5 percent of the vote in Syracuse, only 1 percent of New York City residents voted on the Green Party line.

Hawkins says that the next step is to build their base by reaching out to progressives throughout the state. While they've been able to mobilize environmental activists and Green Party veterans in upstate New York, they hope to attract progressives who typically vote for Democrats.

"We have to convince progressives that if they vote for democrats they're slitting their own throats," Hawkins said.

Banning hydrofracking and reexamining the stock transfer tax are at the top of the Green agenda, and plans for reaching out to the party's volunteers and donors are in the works.

Hawkins noted that the

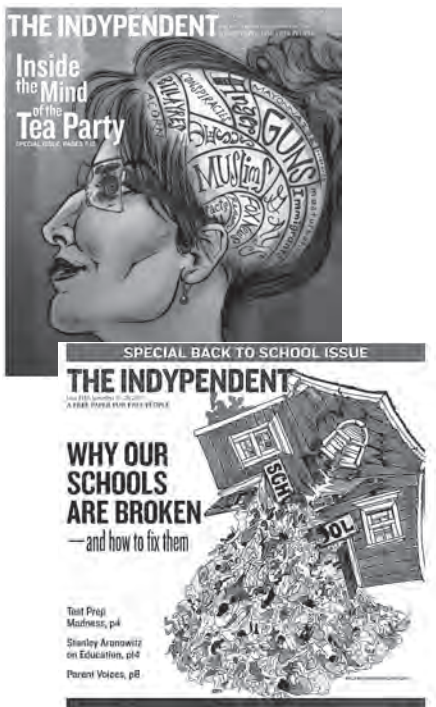
Greens saw a marked increase in participation after he participated in the Oct. 18 televised debate at Hofstra University. Since the start of the campaign last May the Green Party has attracted approximately 600 volunteers and 300 donors.

While the Green Party hopes to bring other independent, grassroots parties into the fold in future elections, the party does not plan to endorse or work with any parties that are funded with corporate money.

Other issues that the Green Party plans to take on in the coming months include a "Green New Deal of full employment, single-payer healthcare, fully funded schools and colleges [and]...a clean energy transition to head off climate catastrophe and put New Yorkers back to work," according to their website.

Going forward, the Green Party plans on being a thorn in the side of Governor-elect Andrew Cuomo.

"We need people to vote their convictions, not their fears," said Hawkins.



Got Dough?

A few weeks ago, at the start of our fall fundraising campaign, a professor from NYU wrote to us, noting that our recent issues were an "excellent ... mix of politics, culture and theory." He asked for 200 copies to hand out to his students, and enclosed a generous donation of \$200 as well.

That simple act and statement was a wonderful affirmation of why The Independent exists. Many of our supporters — like Naomi Klein — say we are "unique." Let us explain why.

We strive to help make profound social change possible, and not just tinker at the edge of capitalist decay. We think the general public can engage with deep analysis and theory, and wants more than celebrity gossip.

We hold that the Democratic Party is as responsible for war, poverty and global ecocide as Republicans.

And we are not beholden to any corporation, political party or wealthy funder. Which is exactly we have relied on the continuing support of readers like you for 10 years now.

More than 100 people have contributed already from \$10 to more than \$500, but we are less than halfway toward our goal of \$20,000.

Only through a collective effort can we defeat the corporations, the warmongers and their allies in both parties, and that is why *The Independent* matters so much and why we need your support.

We don't shift opinions with the wind; we come to our conclusions through a careful evaluation of the evidence. For all of 2008, we wrote that Obama might have been inspiring as a speaker, but that he would be disastrous as a president.

We take little comfort in being right. What does give us solace are the people and movements around the world engaged in the exhilarating, difficult and dangerous fight for a radically better future.

We don't know if we can win. But we are sure as hell going to try, and your help today makes it easier. Please contribute generously today. Even just \$20 makes a big difference. If everyone who read this contributed now, we can meet our goal and get back to doing the best damn journalism possible.

To contribute, go to independent.org or mail your check to The Independent to: Suite 500 666 Broadway NY, NY 10002

Saving Social Security

With Social Security on the chopping block, a broad coalition of senior citizen and labor groups met earlier this month to launch the New York City chapter of the Campaign to Strengthen Social Security. Organized by the New York State Alliance for Retired Americans and the New York Network for Action on Medicare and Social Security, participants hope to block proposals to raise the retirement age, cut benefits and privatize social security. Event participants included Teamsters Local 237 and the Gray Panthers NYC Network. Social Security provides benefits to more than 3.1 million New Yorkers. Pia Scarfo (left), the Policy Director for the Institute for the Puerto Rican/Hispanic Elderly, spoke at the Nov. 5 meeting.

Eric Kingson, co-chair of the national Strengthen Social Security Campaign, added that the program "did not cause the current federal deficit problem and must not be used to address it. The program's already modest benefits should not be cut - if anything they should be increased, as Social Security is a financial foundation for most Americans - and often an economic lifeline."

PHOTO: SAKURA KELLEY



Beating Back the Bullies

Author Mikki Halpin and filmmaker Gina Carducci met with teen activists at Bluestocking Books on Nov. 14 to start work on an anti-bullying LGBTQ teen zine. The zine will be participant-driven and filled with resources, advice and personal stories for LGBTQ youth and allies.

PHOTO: ASHLEY MARINACCIO

ON THE CHOPPING BLOCK

BRONX

P.S. 050 Clara Barton
P.S. 102 The Joseph O. Loretan School for Creative Arts
P.S. 107 John W. Kimball Learning Center
Cornerstone Academy for Social Action
M.S. 142 John Philip Sousa
Christopher Columbus High School
Fordham Leadership Academy for Business and Technology
Grace H. Dodge Career and Technical Education High School
Herbert H. Lehman High School
Jane Addams High School for Academic Careers
John F. Kennedy High School
Monroe Academy for Business/Law
Global Enterprise High School
School for Community Research and Learning
New Day Academy
Performance Conservatory High School
Samuel Gompers Career and Technical Education High School
The Urban Assembly Academy for History and Citizenship for Young Men
Knowledge and Power Preparatory Academy International High School (Kappa)

BROOKLYN

P.S. 260 Breuckelen
P.S. 114 Ryder Elementary
P.S./I.S. 137 Rachel Jean Mitchell
J.H.S. 302 Rafael Cordero
M.S. 571
Boys and Girls High School
John Dewey High School
Metropolitan Corporate Academy High School
Paul Robeson High School
W. H. Maxwell Career and Technical Education High School
Middle School for Academic and Social Excellence
P.S. 332 Charles H. Houston

MANHATTAN

I.S. 195, Roberto Clemente High School of Graphic Communication Arts
Norman Thomas High School
Frederick Douglass Academy III Secondary School
Academy of Collaborative Education Kappa II
Academy of Environmental Science Secondary High School
Choir Academy of Harlem

QUEENS

P.S. 040 Samuel Huntington
P.S. 030 Westerleigh
P.S./M.S. 147, Ronald McNair
I.S. 231, Magnetech 2000
August Martin High School
Beach Channel High School
Grover Cleveland High School
Jamaica High School
John Adams High School
Legacy School for Integrated Studies
Newtown High School
Richmond Hill High School
Business, Computer Applications and Entrepreneurship High School
University Neighborhood High School
Washington Irving High School

Source: NYC Department of Education

SCHOOL CLOSINGS PUSHBACK BEGINS

By JOHN TARLETON

Three days after Joel Klein’s surprise announcement that he was stepping down as schools chancellor, it was back to business as usual at the Department of Education. On Nov. 12, the DOE announced it was considering closing eight more schools bringing the total number of schools at risk of being closed to 55, including 27 high schools.

The DOE is expected to make final decisions on elementary and middle schools by the end of this month, with decisions on high schools being released by mid-December. The Panel for Education Policy, Mayor Michael Bloomberg’s hand-picked school board, will formally vote on school closings, most likely in January or February.

The Department says the schools are at risk of being closed due to poor performance. Many of the targeted schools serve predominantly people of color communities. Critics of the DOE say the schools are being scapegoated for socio-economic ills that exist outside their doors while being denied the resources they need to succeed.

“I’m so exhausted when I come home and then to hear that the school is ‘failing’ and going down and that I am incompetent is just infuriating,” said Michael Solo, a photography teacher in his 14th year at John Dewey High School in Coney Island.

The DOE is currently holding meetings at each school at which parents, staff and community members can speak in support of the their school. At Dewey, supporters of the school are also making their opposition known each Friday morning when they rally and march outside the campus grounds from 7:15 to 8 am. A Nov. 12 rally of Dewey students, teachers and alumni drew 300 people, according to organizers who hope other endangered schools will also begin to hold “Fight Back Fridays”. At least one other school is taking Dewey’s cue: Sheepshead Bay High School



FIGHT BACK FRIDAYS: Supporters of John Dewey High School in Coney Island are holding regular Friday protests to demonstrate against the NYC Department of Education (DOE) plan to close the school. On Nov. 12, 300 students, teachers and alumni from the school attended the weekly march. The DOE has announced plans to close 47 city schools this year. PHOTO: MICHAEL SOLO.

in Brooklyn will hold its first Friday protest after school gets out on Nov. 19.

Julie Cavanagh of the Grassroots Education Movement (GEM) said it was likely that the DOE would also recommend at least 20 school co-locations, an often-controversial move in which privately-run charter schools are allowed to take over parts of already existing public schools. Cavanagh, a Red Hook, Brooklyn elementary school teacher who has published online how-to manuals on resisting school closings and co-locations, said parents and teachers from several schools facing co-locations have contacted GEM for advice on how to mount a campaign against such takeovers.

“Schools that have been very successful are being squeezed out of their buildings,” Cavanagh said.

The DOE is also facing an uproar in Highbridge, Bronx where plans to eliminate sixth grade at P.S. 126 has alarmed school backers who note there are no middle schools in the area and that future sixth graders from the neighborhood will have to take two buses to get to school.

“Is it reasonable for a child to go through the stress of rush-hour bus routes? Lateness will be their norm and there are already challenges to their success in middle school and beyond,” community activist Agnes Johnson wrote in an email to supporters.

CHICAGO PARENTS WIN BATTLE FOR BOOKS



PARENT POWER: A mom speaks during a press conference held at Whittier Elementary School in Chicago. Parents and community activists occupied a field house adjacent to the school for 43 days this fall to prevent the city from tearing down the building which serves as a makeshift library and a community space for parents to meet and take computer, sewing and English classes together. The sit-in ended Oct. 28. The city agreed to not demolish the fieldhouse, which will be leased to the parents for \$1 per year, and to build a full-fledged library inside the school. In Chicago, 160 public schools do not have libraries. PHOTO: MIGUEL VAZQUEZ, LA VOZ

KLEIN ABANDONS SINKING SCHOOLS

BY LEONIE HAIMSON

Many parents will be glad to see Joel Klein leave as chancellor of New York City public schools.

Klein was an extremely poor manager who oversaw a perennially chaotic Department of Education. He leaves behind a legacy of classroom overcrowding, discord over co-located schools, kindergarten waiting lists, school grades based on bad data, a substandard credit recovery programs and the replacement of art and music programs with standardized test preparation.

Klein showed very little regard for the rule of law and faced multiple lawsuits as a result — including one triggered by his refusal to reduce class size despite receiving more than \$2 billion in additional state funds to do so, which he misspent. In the NYC Department of Education's own surveys, parents said that class size reduction was their greatest wish for their children, and yet class sizes

rose sharply under his leadership.

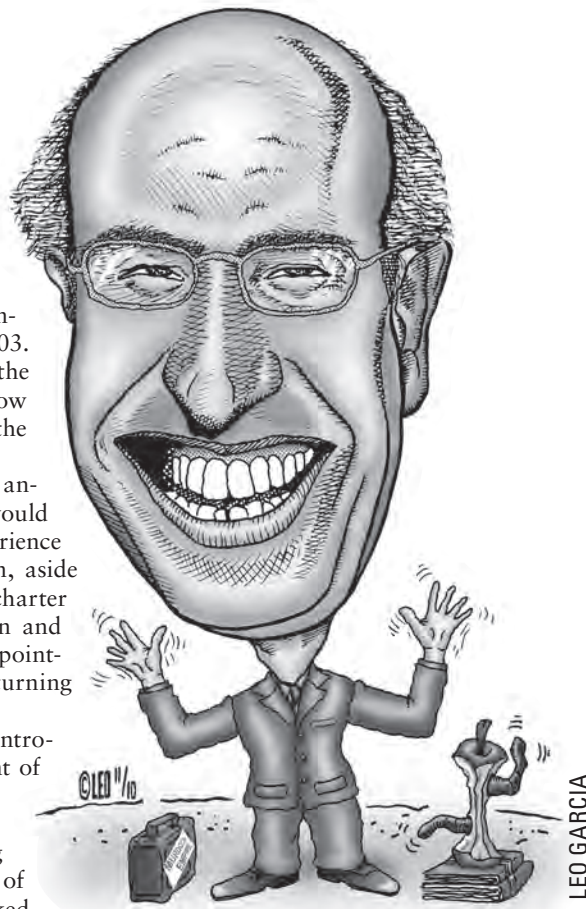
The achievement gap has not narrowed in any grade or category. Instead, black and Latino students have fallen further behind their peers in the nine other cities that have participated in the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) test since 2003. And New York is the only city in the nation where non-poor students now have lower average test scores on the NAEP tests than in 2003.

On Nov. 9, Mayor Bloomberg announced that Cathleen Black would replace Klein. Black has little experience that qualifies her for the position, aside from serving on the board of a charter school with high teacher attrition and student suspension rates. Her appointment may become an important turning point.

It has provoked a firestorm of controversy. This citywide moment of clarity has only occurred twice before: in March 2003 when Bloomberg fired three members of his own hand-picked school board because they disagreed with him prior to a critical vote, and when he announced his intention to overturn term limits in the 2009 mayoral election.

New Yorkers are finally realizing the damage caused by Bloomberg's autocratic behavior. This is a critical moment, and we must join together to reject this appointment and the abuse of power it represents.

Black lacks the minimum educational qualifications required under New York state law to serve as chancellor. Therefore, she must receive a waiver from State Education Commissioner David Steiner.



Dear Commissioner Steiner:

We respectfully urge you to withhold any waiver that would allow Cathleen Black to become Chancellor of the NYC public schools. Ms. Black is simply not qualified to become the leader of the nation's largest school system.

We have had nine, long years with a chancellor who had little or no educational experience, and our schools have suffered as a result, with growing class sizes, worsening overcrowding, test prep replacing a full and varied curriculum, rampant credit recovery, and no narrowing of the achievement gap.

We need an educator who understands what teaching and learning are all about, who will listen to parents, and who will recognize the meaning of a quality education.

Yours respectfully,

[Your name]

WHO IS CATHLEEN BLACK?

PREVIOUS JOB: President of Hearst Magazines where she oversaw publications such as *Seventeen*, *Town & Country*, *Popular Mechanics* and *Cosmopolitan*.

HOMES: Park Avenue on the Upper East Side; Connecticut

CONNECTIONS: Black is a close friend of Mayor Bloomberg's girlfriend Diana Taylor.

EDUCATION: Attended parochial schools in her home town of Chicago and graduated from Trinity College in Washington, D.C.

PUBLIC EDUCATION? NO THANKS: Sent her children to Kent School, a \$45,000 per year boarding school in Connecticut, moving one critic to note, "not only doesn't she not know our kids — she doesn't even know her own kids!"

CHARTER CONNECTION: Black serves on the board of the Harlem Village Academy charter school network, which is co-chaired by Rupert Murdoch. Black has yet to attend a meeting since joining the board.

REACTION: "A superstar manager who has succeeded spectacularly in the private sector" (Mayor Bloomberg); "meets none of the professional experience requirements" (City Councilmember Robert Jackson, Chair of the Education Committee); "a complete deviation from [Bloomberg's] claim to choose people based on merit and qualifications" (*El Diario*); "The Department of Education should not be treated as a playground for the rich and famous or who are tired of their corporate careers." (Assemblymember Hakeem Jeffries, D-Brooklyn)

—JOHN TARLETON

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at 9am

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—AMY GOODMAN,
HOST, DEMOCRACY NOW!

Hosted by movement lawyers Heidi Boghosian, Executive Director, National Lawyers Guild; Michael Ratner, President, Center for Constitutional Rights; Michael Smith, New York City attorney and author



SAT NOV 20

8 pm • \$10
The Dust Busters with John Cohen

Book Launch: "Gone to the Country: The story of the New Lost City Ramblers"

Peter Stampfel's Ether Frolic Mob

THU DEC 9

9 pm • \$10
Veveritise Brass Band Parade and CD Release Party

SAT DEC 18

9 pm • \$10
Sugar Shack Burlesque and the Peculiar Gentleman

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The Terrorist Factory

He's a manipulator. He's a con artist. This is a damn bad motion picture," said Alicia McWilliams-McCollum on an Oct. 6 episode of *Democracy Now!*. She shot a hard glare over her glasses. "They should be ashamed of themselves."

The con artist was informant Shahed Hussain, a Pakistani caught in an illegal license scam by the FBI and given amnesty in exchange for spying on American-Muslims. The “bad motion picture” was a terrorist plot he created by luring poor, angry

ing it onto every brown face. After the towers fell, Arabs and Southeast Asians were left bloody on the sidewalks in Queens; in the Iraq War men were jailed en masse; and in May 2010 Sen. Lieberman (I-Conn.) introduced The Terrorist Expatriation Act to strip citizenship from anyone suspected of aiding terrorists. The American audience has gone from consuming the narrative of the Enemy Muslim to being consumed by this imagined demon.

In *Lenin and Philosophy*, Louis Althusser wrote that the goal of ideology is to recreate the conditions of society by shaping the

Informants flash wads of cash to desperate men, stoke their rage and lead them into the crosshairs of police. The FBI has become a Terrorist Factory.

men into acts of violence with promises of money. McCollum's nephew David Williams was one of the Newburgh Four, a group who plotted to blow up synagogues and shoot down planes. His brother Lord, 20, was dying of liver disease and the family could not afford surgery, so Hussain offered Williams \$25,000.

The story is repeated in other domestic terrorism cases. The informants flash folds of cash to desperate men, stoke their rage with the language of jihad and lead them into the cross-hairs of the police. Instead of catching criminals they are creating them. The FBI has become a Terrorist Factory.

McCollum was right in calling it a "bad motion picture" because like a film the men were cast into roles they did not write. Centuries before 9/11, the East was a blank canvas for the Western mind. After the prophet Muhammad died in 632 A.D. his armies carried the banner of Islam as far as Southern Europe. He was seen as an evil heretic and the Orient as a mystery. This imagery, based on people's fear, was used by ambitious kings to rouse religious hatred. In 1095 A.D. Pope Urban II launched the First Crusade, and as sword struck scimitar the myth of the Arab Enemy began.

Each wave of conquest of the East — from the Crusades to the Colonial Era — left racist imagery in its wake. Camels, belly dancers, opium dens, moonlit sand dunes, mummies and magic were stock clichés used to hide their humanity. In the modern era it is the Arab terrorist that has us riveted.

In his documentary film *Reel Bad Arabs: How Hollywood Vilifies a People* Professor Jack Sheehan traced the image of the wild-eyed, bomb-belted, sneaky, bloodthirsty Muslim Arab in Hollywood films. Turning Muslims and Arabs into savages obscures the brutality of Israeli occupation and American war.

After 9/11, we weren't just consuming images of the Arab enemy — we were project-

consciousness of individuals to fit a social role. He said that ideology “recruits subjects among the individuals.” But what we’ve seen instead is a “forced recruitment” in which people are transformed against their will into the character of the Enemy Muslim, such as with the Newburgh Four.

Our media, military and criminal justice system are Terrorist Factories manufacturing enemies. In creating evil we also recreate the legitimacy of the state and American innocence. When grim politicians announce a newly “terrorist” foiled plot, they are implicitly saying, “See how we keep you safe?”

But they can't keep us safe because terrorism is the price of empire, and it's being paid by our citizens — on Oct. 18 the Newburgh Four were found guilty.

Baiting the Trap

The growing list of cases in which the FBI and police manufacture patently unbelievable terror plots, only to make arrests in the nick of time — such as the Newburgh Four, the Fort Dix Five and the Albany Two — raises a fundamental question: Should the government be allowed to use its almost unlimited resources to induce people to commit crimes, and then turn around and prosecute them for taking the bait?

The legal defense of entrapment was first recognized by the Supreme Court in the 1932 case *Sorrells v. U.S.*, in which the court decided that entrapment occurred when “the design originates with the officials of the Government, and they implant in the mind of an innocent person the disposition to commit the offense.” But who is to determine whether a person has such a disposition, and how?

If it is the responsibility of an accused person to disprove having such a disposition, then it impinges on his or her ordinary right to keep silent and be presumed innocent. This is the state of the law in New York, where entrapment is an affirmative defense. This means that in most cases a defendant would have to

tably be engendered by the government stooping so low as to set up its own citizens. The dissent wanted the focus to be on the nature of the police conduct, and whether it was such as to cause an ordinary person to commit the crime. They also wanted the question of entrapment to be decided as a matter of law by a judge, permitting dismissal of the charges in advance of the case going to the jury.

The most successful use of the entrapment defense was in 1971, after a group of 28 antiwar activists planned to raid the Camden, N.J. draft board to destroy its records. The FBI planted an informant who helped guide and assist the would-be vandals before they were caught in the act. The jury was given a charge that if it found “outrageous government conduct” it should vote to acquit, which it did. Antiwar sympathies were widespread at the time, and the informant himself felt double-crossed by the government. His testimony proved fatal to the prosecution.

The recurring plot of supposed terror plans composed by people with Muslim-sounding names has the effect of prejudicing a jury pool to believe that the charges are true. The charges framed against the Newburgh Four, the Fort Dix Five and the Albany Two all involved the use of extensive surveillance, undercover agents, staged press conferences, secret evidence and vague material support charges. Inducements, including cash, were offered to take advantage of the defendants' youth and economic desperation.

The informers in each of these cases were paid hundreds of thousands of dollars to selectively tape record intemperate statements. Yet it took years to provoke the defendants into taking even one step toward a manufactured bombing plot, so how could they be “predisposed?”

Entrapment has been claimed in many of the post-9/11 terror conspiracy trials, but so far, unsuccessfully.

It is time to ask whether an unbiased jury can be found in New York, following 9/11 and years of anti-Muslim propaganda. While juries in entrapment cases do have the freedom to express community standards and determine when police practices go too far, it seems that juries are now too scared to do so.

The Newburgh jury deliberated for eight days before convicting on all counts, and sent repeated requests to Judge Colleen McMahon for further instructions, such as "If it's entrapment on count

one does it mean all counts are entrapment?" Ultimately, this is proof that, 80 years later, Justice Owen Roberts of the U.S. Supreme Court was right to be concerned about the susceptibility of juries to manipulation based on fear.

Ann Schneider is a member of the NYC Chapter of the National Lawyers Guild (nlgny.org). The opinions expressed in this article are those of the writer and do not necessarily reflect the position of the organization as a whole.



ELVIS BAKAITIS

take the stand, which would put his or her credibility in question. Federal law, however, puts more emphasis on the conduct of the government.

In the 1932 Supreme Court case, Justices Owen Roberts and Louis Brandeis questioned the wisdom of the majority who ruled that it is up to the jury to decide whether a defendant is an “unwary innocent” or an “unwary criminal.” They called the use of entrapment by the government “prostitution of the criminal law,” and pointed out the loss of respect for the law that would inevi-



HANDS OFF: Tom Burke, a subpoenaed antiwar activists, speaks to a packed room at St. Mark's Church for the first meeting of the Committee to Stop FBI Repression. PHOTO: JED BRANDT

Activists Unafraid After FBI Crackdown

BY JOSÉ ALCOFF

Tom Burke began the morning of Sept. 24 like any other. His wife took their 5-year-old daughter to school before heading to work in their Michigan town. Then the phone rang, and he learned that FBI agents were raiding the homes of friends in Chicago. As any good organizer would, Burke jumped into his car to produce a press release at the first internet cafe he could find.

He then realized someone was following him. "This car turned around twice behind me, and I thought that's funny because I don't know where I'm going," he chuckles. He called his wife and headed to her workplace. As he drove through the security gate, a black SUV zoomed in behind him. His wife came down, and three people jumped out of different vehicles and made a beeline toward them. "The man came out [of the SUV] and identified himself as FBI. And he served me and my wife with subpoenas."

In multiple raids, three subpoenas were served on Chicago antiwar activists there, giving them October dates to stand before a Federal Grand Jury. Another six were issued in Minneapolis during six FBI raids, including one of the offices of the Anti-War Committee (AWC). FBI agents allegedly had a key when they entered the AWC office, where they seized checks made out to the group, cash registers and checkbooks. Three days later, three more activists in Minneapolis were served with subpoenas.

All told, more than 70 federal agents were reportedly involved in the eight raids, and some individuals claim they were subjected to intimidating phone calls and visits by agents in North Carolina, California and Wisconsin.

None of the 14 individuals were charged with crimes, though the subpoenas indicated the federal government was considering charging them with providing material aid to terrorists, specifying solidarity work in Palestine and Colombia.

These allegations come on the heels of the recent Supreme Court decision in the *Humanitarian Law Project v. Holder* case that expanded the definition of "material aid" to "terrorist groups" to include educating designated groups in nonviolent methods for conflict resolution and delivering humanitarian aid to areas under their control after natural disasters.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT ANNOUNCEMENT SPARKS FEARS OF 'CLAMP DOWN' ON CRITICISM OF ISRAEL

BY ALEX KANE

Jewish organizations are hailing an Oct. 26 announcement from the U.S. Department of Education that will reportedly give greater protection against anti-semitism on college campuses. The announcement emphasizes that Title VI, the part of the 1964 Civil Rights Act that prohibits institutions that discriminate on the basis of race or national origin from receiving federal funding, also includes protections for religious groups that share ethnic characteristics. The statement follows lobbying from Jewish organizations that urged the department to interpret "Title VI to protect Jewish students from anti-semitic harassment." However, the decision has been met with criticism from Palestine solidarity activists who fear that it could be aimed at silencing legitimate dissent against Israel. In an Oct. 29 blog post on MuzzleWatch, a project of Jewish Voice for Peace, activist Eyal Mazor writes that groups like the right-wing Zionist Organization of America advocated for this policy to "clamp down on student activism that has pushed universities to hold Israel accountable to international law."

"Their goal is to bring charges of support for terrorist groups against the people who were subpoenaed," said Burke. "They're trying to pit people against each other and ...put people in jail."

Instead, various social movement organizations sprang into action. As the FBI raided Joe Iosbaker's and Stephanie Weiner's Chicago home, carting out 26 boxes of their family's personal effects, dozens of friends and activists arrived in a display of solidarity. Across the country, Burke said, rallies or pickets were held in 60 cities demanding an end to the subpoenas and the grand jury investigations. In New York, Chicago and Seattle fundraisers were held to garner money for legal defense.

Antiwar, civil liberties, socialist and other groups called for U.S. Attorney General Eric Holder to shutter the federal grand juries. Many of those under attack are shop stewards in their unions, and AFSCME, AFT and Teamsters locals were among at least 17 labor groups that have issued statements of solidarity, which are available at stopfbi.net.

While the subpoenaed individuals were each given one of three dates in October to appear before a federal grand jury in Chicago for questioning, all have refused to testify. They say they are willing to go to jail rather than participate in what they call a government fishing expedition of information from antiwar and international solidarity movements.

While the government rescinded the subpoenas and no one was imprisoned, three Minneapolis activists were re-subpoenaed only days after the November election.

During the first weekend in November, Tom Burke, Jess Sundin, Steff Yorek, and Hatem Abudayyeh traveled to New York to organize the inaugural meeting of the Committee to Stop FBI Repression. The event drew 150 people and raised several thousand dollars for the legal defense budget. Organizers have also reached out to Arab, Muslim and Puerto Rican communities that have been recently hit with subpoenas, raids and indictments by the U.S. Department of Justice.

The subjects of the raids say the outpouring of support is important. "You feel pretty isolated at first," says Jess Sundin of Minneapolis, whose home was raided. "But it's very quickly obvious that we are not alone."

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Midterm Elections Puncture Illusions

BY STANLEY ARONOWITZ

The drubbing of Obama and the Democrats in the midterm elections offers many lessons. There are obvious ones, such as confirmation of the old saying, “All politics are local.” While the polls were akin to a civil war slaughter with an electoral battlefield stained blue, the Democrats did manage to defeat some right-wing and Tea Party candidates on the two coasts even as virtually the entire South and large portions of the Midwest gave the Republicans a heavy boost.

The second lesson is a “New” New Deal is not possible under the current political configuration. If we are lucky, the next two years will be a time of gridlock in Washington. For if the right prevails, hang on to your wallets and head for the high ground. If the Obama administration buckles under on oil drilling in the Gulf Coast and Arctic, thereby putting environmental issues on the back burner, and “compromises” on Social Security, like Bill Clinton’s signature on the Welfare Reform Act 15 years ago, we are in for another huge puncture in the 75-year-old social programs, and the climate apocalypse will be nearer.

A less obvious lesson is that Obama (and many Democrats) hates politics. He refuses to accept that politics involves choosing one’s enemies and pursuing them to the final victory. In his characteristic tin-eared fashion, President Obama responded to the election rout by calling for a new era of cooperation between the two parties. If Obama finds a partner, it is likely to be on the partner’s terms. Will the hard right have the temerity to follow through on its promise to curb Social Security and Medicare, which remain the third rail of American politics? Or will Obama clear the path for them by reviving his lame post-politics line, a stance he temporarily abandoned as his party was drowning?

THE LIMITS OF JOBS

For many on the left the failure of Obama and the Democratic-controlled Congress to address the jobs crisis — favoring huge bank, insurance and auto industries bailouts instead — set off the electoral avalanche. But could the economic malaise have been remedied by better policies alone? Would Obama have avoided disaster if he had focused on jobs instead of healthcare?

While the two parties drone on about jobs, they remain silent about stagnant wages and private-sector job growth that is overwhelmingly in low-paid sectors such as food and home services, the repository for many undocumented immigrants. If Obama had a jobs program would it have been a direct injection into people’s pockets rather than bank coffers? That is what the ballyhooed plan to staunch millions of foreclosures turned out to be: another bank bailout.

Lesson number four is that liberals are more fearful of mobilizing their base than they are of the right or of the consequences of the Obama administration sacrificing popular needs in order to serve finance capital and the war machine. German filmmaker Rainer Fassbinder summed up the current liberal mindset in the title of his powerful 1974 film *Ali: Fear Eats the Soul*. A few liberal economists like Nobel Prize laureates Paul Krugman and Joseph Stiglitz



JEREMY LUTHER

support more stimulus programs directed to ordinary people, but cannot bring themselves to call for a “New” New Deal. Labor, civil rights, feminist and environmental movement leaders are unwilling to find ways to force the administration’s hand. It took nearly two years of right-wing organizing at all levels before the AFL-CIO and its allies finally mounted a demonstration, the “One Nation” rally in Washington, D.C., on Oct. 2. Safely tucked in the Democrats’ fold, the liberal groups refused to criticize Obama and the rally degenerated into cheerleading for the Democrats.

FRANCE AND GREECE IN THE STREETS

Contrast the absence of mass demonstrations in the United States with France and Greece. When Nicolas Sarkozy’s government proposed raising the minimum retirement age from 60 to 62 and extending the age of full benefits from 65 to 67, it provoked strikes, street demonstrations, factory occupations and road blockages. For the first time since 1968, students joined workers in the streets and universities ground to a halt. The three major unions united to sponsor the strikes and street actions, joined by virtually all

parties on the left, from the centrist Socialists to the Communists and the Anti-Capitalist Party who previously could not agree on anything. In Greece demonstrators filled the streets after the Socialist government announced new austerity measures to shift the crisis onto public employees.

While defensive struggles, these mass mobilizations went beyond relatively narrow issues. Unions and left organizations correctly understood these governments were trying to reverse the post-war compromise — which even center-right administrations agreed to in the past — of exempting the social welfare state from draconian cuts. Sarkozy and Greek Prime Minister George Papandreou’s hubris is certain to reignite the struggle for power, though it might be confined to parliamentary alternatives. In France some are talking about radical change and are re-imagining what a new French Revolution might look like. While the Greek Socialists emerged from the direct action phase with victories in local elections, the political situation there has become increasingly unstable.

For two years, flanked by his neoliberal team of head economist Larry Summers,

Fed chief Ben Bernanke and as Treasury Secretary, the grim Tim Geithner, Obama has adopted the discredited trickle-down policies of the Bush and Clinton administrations of which Summers and Co. were architects. Economic growth has inched forward as the federal government poured trillions into corporations, but joblessness remains devastatingly high.

In the United States, the “U6 rate” — which tracks unemployed, underemployed and discouraged workers — is at 17 percent of the active labor force. Add to that another 3 percent or so who have dropped out of the labor force entirely, have never held a job or were forcibly retired on small Social Security benefits and even tinier pensions, and you have a real unemployment rate nearing Great Depression levels.

SYMBOLIC POLITICS

The Democrats have not figured out the fifth lesson: In capitalist societies, in times of economic crisis, all politics are symbolic. FDR discovered this early in his first term. While no enemy of capitalism, he addressed rampant youth unemployment by instituting a Civilian Conservation Corps to clean up the rivers, forests and urban dung heaps, and put many to work in a Public Works program to rebuild the roads, the streets and public buildings. From 1933 to 1935 the Roosevelt administration put more than 2 million unemployed workers directly on the federal government’s payrolls. With falling tax revenues, it financed these programs by increasing the national debt, the reduction of which is a sacred cow in the current debate.

By 1932 more than a quarter of the labor force or about 13 million people were out of work. Roosevelt understood that the prestige of his policies depended not on solving the crisis, which is beyond the capacity of a capitalist state, but in populist initiatives that could yield immediate results, regardless of their actual economic impact. Politics is about perception, not chiefly solutions. Now, as well as during the 1930s, the state has no intention of implementing full employment, though back then the state had the option of all-out war. Joblessness keeps wages down and usually prevents the working class from rising up unless it is organized by radicals.

DISAPPEARING VOTERS

If history is a guide, the Democrats would not have staved off some losses this time even if they switched priorities. Nearly every midterm election witnesses such slippage. But they might have held on to the House. Moreover, the healthcare and financial regulation bills are so flawed that many Congressmembers who voted for the bills failed to defend them during the campaign.

One undeniable factor is the crumbling of the Obama coalition. Around 29 million voters who cast ballots in 2008 stayed home this year. Young voters, aged 18-29, who trend heavily Democratic, fell from 18 percent of the electorate in 2008 to a paltry 11 percent in 2010. Meanwhile, the senior vote skyrocketed from 16 to 23 percent, and went Republican by a 21-point margin. Fewer women, blacks and Latinos showed up, and the Democrats suffered some gender disaffection. By every measure, the 2010 electorate was white, older and conservative, and Republicans gained in every cat-

Liberals are more afraid of mobilizing their own base than they are of the right

egory. In the Midwest the working class was either missing or shifted right, especially in Michigan, Indiana, Missouri and Illinois.

The Democrats failed to mobilize their traditional constituents to vote because they did not perceive enough differences between the parties. It is not unreasonable to view the Republicans and Democrats as virtually identical in their core beliefs — that the main problem is the deficit, that the huge war economy and the Afghan and Iraq wars are unassailable, and that the business of government is business. The best face on this convergence is to charge the Democrats with timidity, which ignores the fact that they are in the pocket of big money.

DISILLUSIONED STATE

Deeper still is the widespread disillusionment, shared by millions, with the state — not only the government but also the education system, the unions and many cultural institutions responsible for maintaining our sustaining ideologies of progress. Everyday life is increasingly fraught with uncertainty and danger. The “informal” economy of drugs, prostitution and petty theft beckons for many young men and women who do not qualify for military service.

Meanwhile, state and local governments,

once the haven in a heartless labor market, are shedding workers with a rapidity that wipes out prospects for a large segment of the racially oppressed. There may be some deflation in housing prices, but food, health-care and rental costs are climbing. The cost of post-secondary schooling has gone through the roof, leaving many working-class students, especially youth of color, behind. For millions of blacks and Latinos, the term “middle class” remains an elusive goal. Yes, the lives of the top 20 percent of these groups have improved since the Civil Rights struggles forced the hand of the state, but 80 percent are worse off.

Midwestern cities are a shambles. After decades of decline, New England is split between relatively prosperous metropolitan areas like Boston and Providence and industrial wastelands such as Bridgeport and Fall River and decimated fishing and textile towns. Even the once booming South and Southwest have witnessed the flight of textile mills and apparel industries that once employed hundreds of thousands at lousy wages.

These are “economic” issues, but they are experienced as a vanishing horizon of opportunity to become workers in industries that offered low wages, but allowed young

people to survive. Factory disappearance prompts massive youth migration. But to where? How many dreams can San Francisco, New York and Atlanta accommodate? Is the next destination for trained technical workers Mumbai?

While hard times are not a novelty in America, this is no cyclical recession. It marks a new era. There is no immediate prospect for the return of decent factory jobs, and employment that is available requires credentials and skills. Experts say that education is the key to escaping from poverty and a life of contingency. But as jobs for qualified workers shrink, graduation rates are declining as well. Less than half of recent high school graduates can expect to earn an associate's degree or more. This trend reflects a return to times when most people lived off the land or on factory labor. But farm and industrial technologies and deindustrialization have made chronic unemployment a reality for perhaps a quarter or more of the work force in the coming years regardless of growth rates.

The United States is declining as a leading source of productive activities. As personal and government debt mounts, it remains doubtful that we can renew the economy on fictitious capital, the main form of which is

consumer credit used to buy homes and cars, and pay college tuition and health bills.

Enter war and military power. We are evolving into a militarist state. The war psychosis absorbs a huge chunk of our national budget and has become politically unsailable, meaning budget cuts will fall on social programs. Arms are among our most buoyant exports. Most dangerous, the state, under the Democrats more than the Republicans, has literally fulfilled George Orwell's nightmare of Big Brother. In the name of the dubious war on terror, the government has won the right to tap our telephones and spy on our emails, Twitter, Facebook entries and electronic technologies to come.

We like to ascribe McCarthyite hysteria to the right. But the drift toward authoritarian rule is riding a wave of Democratic initiatives. Uncomfortable? Only for those who persist in emphasizing the few differences between the parties and ignoring the degree to which both are in the thrall of big capital.

Stanley Aronowitz is a distinguished professor at the CUNY Graduate Center and the author of 25 books. He is co-author with William DeFazio of The Jobless Future.

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INSECURE COMMUNITIES

NYPD’s stop and frisks already target communities of color.
Now New York City may join a federal program that puts immigrants who come into contact with police at risk of deportation.

BY RENÉE FELTZ; GRAPHICS BY STOKELY BAKSH

On a recent Saturday night in Jackson Heights, a group of men gathered for drinks in a bar that caters to the neighborhood’s international clientele. When they piled out of the door onto Roosevelt Avenue, their loud chatter was interrupted by two NYPD officers. Those who were undocumented immigrants ran away. Several who didn’t scatter fast enough were left to answer a dreaded question.

“You got any ID?” asked an officer.

That’s when “a simple stop by the police turned into an immigration case,” recalled Adam, an Ecuadorian immigrant who is friends with the men who were stopped. He asked that only his first name be used.

Adam said his friends handed over ID cards purchased in the neighborhood, or issued by their consulates. Unsatisfied, the officers arrested them. They were taken to the local precinct and expected to be released the following Monday. Instead, they were transferred into the custody of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), moved to detention center in Texas, then deported to Mexico and Ecuador.

Now the process that led Adam’s friends to be deported could become commonplace in “the city of immigrants.”

New York City — home to more than three million immigrants, more than half a million of them undocumented — is on the verge of joining a program called “Secure Communities,” which allows ICE to access arrest data from all local jails. Despite its

name, advocates worry the program will wreak havoc in communities that are already hyper-policed.

SECURE COMMUNITIES IS THE NEW FACE OF AN enforcement system that has continued to expand even as comprehensive immigration reform languishes. It works by sharing arrest data from local jails with ICE. If agents find a match, they can then issue a hold or a “detainer” asking police to keep an immigrant in custody to be picked up by ICE. Compliance with the request is voluntary, but most police cooperate.

More than 700 counties in 34 states have signed up for Secure Communities since it began in 2008, including all of the states along the U.S.-Mexico border. ICE wants every jail in the nation to participate by 2013.

After California enrolled in the program last year, immigrants in several counties began to quietly disappear. In one case, a single-mother of three in Hayward, across the bay from San Francisco, got into a car accident and met a fate common to undocumented immigrants. She had no driver’s license and faced citation or arrest.

“A police officer told me he needed to take me to the police department where my fingerprints would be taken,” said the woman, who asked to remain anonymous. “He explained the entire process would take half an hour.”

But she was kept in jail until she was visited by immigration officers. She is currently in deportation proceedings.

“Secure Communities makes it hard to know when people are being detained and deported,” said Evelyn Sanchez, outreach director for Somos Mayfair in California’s Santa Clara County. “You can’t point to it as easily as you could during the raids a few years ago.”

SOME STATES ANNOUNCE THEIR SECURE Communities partnership with ICE in press releases, but New York neglected to disclose that it signed up on May 10, 2010. Documents released after an open records request reveal that ICE held a briefing on the program at its Detention and Removal Office in New York City on May 21, 2009. It briefed the New York State Identification Bureau the following month.

After a state signs up for Secure Communities, counties can be added individually or all at once. No jurisdictions have been activated yet in New York. But in a Nov. 9 meeting in San Francisco, ICE officials said they expect the all of New York to be active within several months.

Once immigration advocates got word the state had joined Secure Communities, they formed a coalition called New York Working Group Against Deportation and began pushing for Gov. David Paterson to rescind the agreement with ICE. It hasn’t been easy.

“You have this moment now where all

you have to say is illegal criminal aliens and everyone feels justified that there would be a program to get these people out of our communities,” said Mizue Aizeki, a member of the working group and a community liaison with the Northern Manhattan Coalition for Immigrant Rights.

Who are these criminal aliens? In its New York briefings, ICE promoted Secure Communities as a way to use a “risk-based approach” to target high-level criminal offenders. It cited examples of immigrants the program helped locate in Dallas, Boston and Miami who had extensive criminal histories that included multiple felony drug convictions.

But these “Level 1 offenders” account for less than a quarter of those caught in ICE’s dragnet. More than half of the immigrants deported through Secure Communities since it began were charged with nonviolent, low-level offenses.

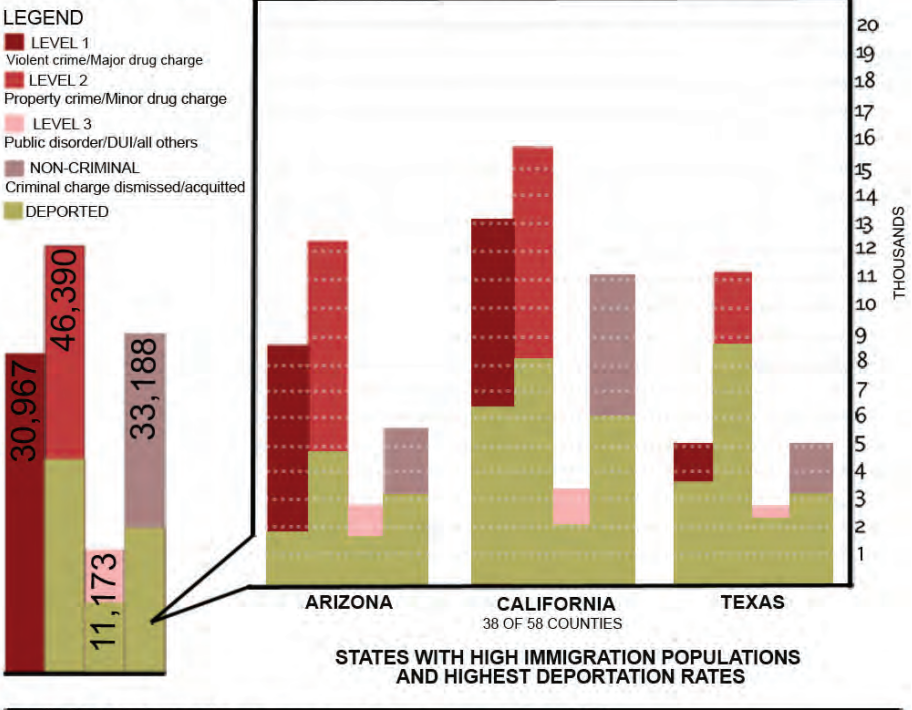
Another 27 percent were “non-criminals.” This means their charges were dropped or they were found innocent, but they face deportation because they were in the country without permission — a civil immigration violation.

REGARDLESS OF THE CHARGES, OR LACK THEREOF, ICE emphasizes that immigrants deported through Secure Communities are located after they are brought to jail.

Critics like Michelle Waslin, of the Immigration Policy Center, say this type of partnership takes “the initial identification and arrest outside of ICE’s control” and increases “the potential for profiling and pre-textual arrests.”

If New York City joins Secure Commu-

Secure Communities Detention and Deportation



Source: ICE IDENT/IAFIS Interoperability Report, Aug. and Sept. 2010

nities, “ICE would have to ignore all the problems with the criminal justice system in terms of who’s getting arrested and which communities are getting policed,” says Aizeki.

Many of these problems are linked to NYPD’s Stop, Question and Frisk program, which allows officers to question anyone they suspect has a weapon or drugs.

Blacks and Latinos each make up about a quarter of the city’s population, but they account for more than 80 percent of stop-and-frisk encounters. By comparison, Whites are about 45 percent of the city’s residents, but make up just 10 percent of the stops.

“You have hundreds of thousands of New York City residents who are stopped for no other reason other than their national origin and their race,” said Sunita Patel. A staff attorney at the Center for Constitutional Rights, Patel is co-counsel on a lawsuit alleging that stop and frisks violate Fourth Amendment protections against unlawful search and seizure.

NYPD precincts where people are stopped and frisked most frequently are also home to large immigrant communities from the Caribbean, Latin America and Africa. They include Crown Heights, Bedford-Stuyvesant, Jackson Heights, East Harlem and the North Shore of Staten Island.

Now those subjected to racial profiling could be dragged into the deportation system.

“Secure Communities has the potential to create a real pipeline from basic police interaction to detention and removal,” said Patel.

ALMOST 90 PERCENT OF STOP-AND-FRISK encounters by NYPD — nearly three million in the past five years — end without an arrest. Police record the name of the person stopped, but they are not arrested or fingerprinted. This means their information will not be shared with ICE via Secure Communities.

Out of those arrested in New York state, just 64 percent — 107,000 people — are convicted, according to data from the NY Department of Criminal Justice Services.

Many of the drug convictions are based on marijuana possession that NYPD officers discover when they ask suspects to empty their pockets. Blacks and Latinos account for more than 85 percent of the city’s marijuana arrests.

Immigrants who face deportation after they are convicted of these charges often seek help from organizations like Families for Freedom.

“Most of our members are long-term permanent residents who have had some type of interaction with the criminal justice system,” said Janis Rosheuvel, the group’s executive director. “They have deep roots here, so their families will be very affected by Secure Communities.”

Charges stemming from the roughly 50,000 other arrests are either dismissed or result in an acquittal. But undocumented immigrants in these cases still face deportation because their information has been shared with ICE.

THE FREQUENCY WITH WHICH POLICE STOP Latinos is reflected in a poster that hangs in the Jackson Heights office of New Immigrant Community Empowerment (NICE). It lists useful English and Spanish vocabulary terms. From “arrested” to “search,” every word relates to law enforcement.

“A lot of people feel like police are there to protect them,” said Andres Garcia, an organizer with NICE. “Our members don’t really feel the same way.”



ON EDGE IN QUEENS: Adam, whose friends were deported after being arrested by NYPD in Jackson Heights, is a member of New Immigrant Community Empowerment. PHOTO: RENÉE FELTZ

Garcia says immigrants in the neighborhood already hesitate to call police for help because they are afraid they will be asked for their status. He expects communication to shut down even further if the city joins Secure Communities.

“Why should they want to work with police if that’s going to hurt them?” Garcia asked.

On the wall of Families for Freedom’s office in Manhattan is a map of how the criminal justice and immigration systems now work together. Its been used in “Deportation 101” trainings at several churches and schools and on street corners in central Brooklyn.

“I’ve been out there, and when people hear ‘immigration,’ they run away thinking you’re with ICE,” says member Ravi Ragbir. “But when they listen from afar and realize we’re giving information, then they come around and say, ‘Oh, my brother is in this situation.”

Ragbir has also designed a 10-week curriculum for members of immigrant rights groups that prepares them to speak about the deportation system and broader legislative and policy issues.

“They start to understand deportation is not something to be ashamed about. It’s about racism and the profiling that demonizes people,” said Ragbir.

SECURE COMMUNITIES IS ALREADY TROUBLING some on the other side of the police badge.

“We have spent 25 years building relations implementing community policing in the many cities across America; now this program could reverse that and prevent us from doing the job we need to do,” said Ron Hampton, the recently retired director of the National Police Accountability Project and a veteran D.C. cop.

The question of how and whether local police should enforce federal immigration laws was a major topic at an August gathering of police chiefs from 27 major cities. The conference took place in New York City, though no local police officials attended.

It was convened by the Consortium for Police Leadership in Equality, an organization that promotes police transparency and accountability. Co-founder Dr. Tracie Keesee said the group’s “overwhelming concern” with Secure Communities “is the impact it would have on the relationship with law enforcement and the Latino community, and the ability for both groups to work together to reduce crime.”

Keesee co-authored an editorial published in July titled, “Policing Immigration: A Job We Do Not Want.” It cited a consortium report that found one in three Salt Lake City, UT, residents are unwilling to report drug-related crimes when law enforcement can detain someone based on their immigration status.

In another study, the consortium asked 177 police officers in Salt Lake City and San Jose, Calif., how they felt about “cross-deputization.” Officers said being involved with immigration enforcement made them significantly more concerned about appearing racist. They also reported more anxiety when approaching members of the Latino community and lower job satisfaction.

The NYPD has not taken a public stance on Secure Communities, only issuing a comment through a spokesperson who said, “It is incumbent upon the NYPD to maintain the trust and confidence of all who depend on the services of the police department for their safety.”

SECRETARY OF HOMELAND SECURITY JANE Napolitano says she doesn’t consider Secure Communities “an opt-in, opt-out kind of program.”

States such as Virginia enrolled every county in the program all at once, even though at least one of them wanted out. In California, Santa Clara and San Francisco counties — home to hundreds of thousands of immigrants — were brought into the program against their will.

Officials with the New York Division of Criminal Justice Services (DCJS) previously said they had “been repeatedly assured both orally and in writing that no community in New York state will be activated unless it affirmatively opts in to the program.” But they later issued a statement that “it is the position of the federal government that it can require participation.” DCJS spokesman John Caher says no counties are active yet.

Governor-elect Andrew Cuomo said he may review the program when he comes into office. He told the New York Immigration Coalition, “I think the federal government has to be very careful in Secure Communities, because you don’t want to create a situation where people are afraid to report a

Continued on page 18

Ecuador Challenged by Indigenous Movements

BY BENJAMIN DANGL

The right-wing coup attempt in Ecuador led by police forces petered out almost as quickly as it began on Sept. 30, but the aftershocks continue to be felt, mainly with the exposure of the rupture between President Rafael Correa and the country's indigenous movements.

Correa is seen as a member of Latin America's new left, working to implement modern democratic socialism. When he took office in January 2007, Correa began fulfilling campaign promises such as creating an assembly to rewrite the country's constitution, using oil wealth for national development and confronting U.S. imperialism. However, once the electoral confetti stopped falling, many indigenous groups say Correa betrayed them by pushing for neoliberal policies, criminalizing protests against his administration and blocking indigenous input in the development of extractive industries and the rewriting of the constitution.

The coup attempt exposed these fractures. While quick to protest the coup, indigenous movements sharply criticized Correa's policies that have affected them negatively. This rocky relationship demonstrates the challenges of protesting against a leftist leader without empowering the right. Moreover, the political dance between Correa and the indigenous movements offers insight into the crisis in Ecuador.

LITTLE POLICE COUP

The coup began with a police protest against changes in their pay and promotion. While meeting with rebellious police, Correa was attacked and briefly held captive before being rescued by the Ecuadorian military. Thousands of people poured into the streets in protest, hundreds were injured and five died.

Correa's high approval rating, which stood at 67 percent in Quito, helped hold back the coup. Economist Mark Weisbrot wrote that popular backing for Correa was aided by government policies that have "doubled spending on healthcare, significantly increased other social spending and successfully defaulted on \$3.2 billion of foreign debt that was found to be illegitimately contracted."

Support for Correa from other South American presidents also thwarted the coup, which took place in the shadow of the right-wing coup that ousted President Manuel Zelaya in June 2009. The Union of South American Nations, which includes more conservative presidents in Colombia and Peru, immediately convened a meeting and condemned the Ecuadorian coup attempt, isolating the plotters and marking a clear departure from the era when U.S.-backed coups and dictators dominated the region.

But missing were the country's indigenous movements. Whereas grassroots support in Venezuela helped defeat the coup against President Hugo Chavez in 2002, and the mobilization from President Evo Morales' social movement allies helped suppress right-wing destabilization efforts in Bolivia in 2008, Correa was unable to count on the



RUPTURES: Ecuadorian President Rafael Correa (center) has high approval ratings, but many indigenous groups have broken with his administration over policies that excluded them from participating in the rewriting of the constitution and economic development. [Flickr.com/Gobierno Municipal de Piñas](https://www.flickr.com/photos/gobierno-municipal-de-piñas/)

most dynamic social movements in Ecuador during the coup attempt.

A joint statement issued by four leading indigenous groups, including the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (CONAIE), denounced the coup attempt while criticizing Correa. "Faced with the criticism and mobilization of communities against transnational mining, oil, and agro-industrial companies, the government, instead of creating a dialogue, responds with violence and repression ... The only thing this type of politics provokes is to open spaces to the right and create spaces of destabilization."

A MOVEMENT FOR SURVIVAL

Founded in 1986, CONAIE advocates for indigenous rights, access to land, autonomy, basic services, environmental protection and political representation. Partly because of the isolation and self-sufficiency of rural areas, CONAIE is made up of decentralized, local communities that meet to debate and make decisions collectively. Direct participation of local chapters helps to hold movement leaders and representatives accountable, and the strengthening of a cohesive indigenous identity has spurred unity within the movement.

In the 2006 elections, the support of CONAIE and other movements helped Correa win the presidency, but he turned his back on the indigenous people and Ecuadorian left almost immediately upon taking office. At the same time, Correa has enacted some progressive policies. He forced the Pentagon out of an airbase in Manta, Ecuador, by demanding a military base in Miami in return. He also appointed a debt commission that led Ecuador to announce it would not pay \$9.94 billion in debt accrued illegally by past undemocratic governments, including a dictatorship from 1974 to 1979.

'PLURI-NATIONAL' STATE

One of Correa's more controversial changes was convening a constituent assembly to rewrite the constitution, responding to a decades-old demand from indigenous movements. CONAIE leader Luis Macas said that the indigenous movement desired a "pluri-national" state to reflect the diversity of indigenous land and customs, structurally changing the state itself. Explaining that the

Ecuadorian state excludes the indigenous sectors, Macas said, "There hasn't been any integration of people for almost 180 years of the republic's life — a vertical state, a state that legislates, a state that, in other words, hasn't arrived for all these social sectors. We believe that the character of the state must be pluri-national, a state that recognizes each one of the existing nationalities in this country."

This transformation never happened. Correa looked to political parties, not movements, to participate in the constituent assembly, and social movement representatives were not invited to be part of the commission that generated proposals for the new constitution.

Passed by 64 percent of voters on Sept. 28, 2008, the new constitution expanded state regulation and involvement in the economy and management of natural resources, recognized the rights of nature, and the human right to education and healthcare. But Correa undermined many such changes by forging ahead with oil and mining concessions to generate funds for government programs and initiatives while ignoring the rights of and not consulting with indigenous communities most affected by the extraction.

As part of this strategy Correa silenced opponents, including the environmentalist group Acción Ecológica. Journalist Naomi Klein characterized this act as "something all too familiar: a state seemingly using its power to weaken dissent."

Pablo Dávalos, economist, professor, and former advisor to CONAIE, noted that Correa uses strategies that "neutralize the ability of the indigenous movement to mobilize and to destroy it as a historic social actor" by pushing CONAIE out of the political debate and calling on police repression to crack down on their dissent.

One of the first signs that Correa would use serious force against leftist protests came with a conflict in the Amazonian town of Dayuma in November 2007. Opposing an oil company's activity, protesters set up roadblocks to prevent access to oil fields. They called for the government to improve their community's standard of living and infrastructure, rather than prioritizing the needs of multinational oil companies. Correa responded by declaring a state of emergency. Police violently dragged community members from their homes, arresting 23 people.

Movements find themselves forced either to support Correa as the lesser of two evils, or oppose him and risk fueling the right's power. As Ivonne Ramos of Acción Ecológica explained, "There is the question of public sympathy, which is complicated when you have a president with such high approval ratings. Any action that a social movement takes can be read, understood, or publicized as an action in support of the right, since this government is supposedly a leftist one. This has produced a climate of uncertainty over what positions to take, what actions to take."

BREAKING TIES

On May 12, 2008, CONAIE officially broke ties with the Correa administration in part over the failure of the new constitution to recognize Ecuador as a pluri-national state.

Correa's government has proposed laws that CONAIE says will lead to the privatization of water, limit community participation in water management, and lessen punishment for water pollution. The launch of the National Mobilization to Defend the Water in September 2009 saw protesters marching throughout the country and setting up road blockades with rocks, logs and burning tires.

CONAIE leaders said they were pushed to this action because they were "exhausted by the process of dialogue." Protester Ceaser Quilumbaquin said, "We are indigenous people and the majority of water comes from our páramos [plateaus]. Water is life, and the government wants to sell water to private entities."

In spite of such conflicts, Correa was re-elected president with 52 percent of the vote on April 26, 2009. While his re-election signaled a further defeat for the Ecuadorian political establishment and right wing, it presented new challenges to the indigenous movement.

Decades after CONAIE's emergence as a national movement, its survival depends on understanding the complex political terrain under Correa, knowing the stakes of its dance with the state, and defending its autonomy, both through pressuring the state and empowering its own territories from below.

Sections of this article are adapted from Benjamin Dangel's new book, Dancing with Dynamite: Social Movements and States in Latin America. Dangel is the editor of TowardFreedom.com and UpsideDownWorld.org.

Bolivia Reconstitutes Neoliberalism

BY JEFFERY R. WEBBER

On Dec. 6, 2009, Evo Morales won a decisive mandate for a second term in office with an astonishing 64 percent of the popular vote. This latest electoral victory marked the peak of a wave of successes at the polls, including 67 percent support for his administration in the recall referendum of 2008 and 61 percent approval of the new constitution in a popular referendum held in January 2009.

Morales is the first president in Bolivia to be reelected in successive terms. For the first time since the 1952 National Revolution, a party won a massive majority and control of both houses of the legislature, providing the Movimiento al Socialismo (Movement Toward Socialism, MAS), with the power, among other things, to reconfigure the reactionary judiciary. The MAS controls 25 of 36 Senate seats and 82 of 130 seats in the House of Deputies.

With the government at the start of its second term, this is an ideal time to take stock of the situation in Bolivia. Unfortunately hyperbole has often been substituted for serious reflection and analysis.

Prior to the elections, for example, Judy Rebeck, a prominent Canadian leftist, suggested that the MAS government is “reinventing democratic socialism. They are in the process of creating a pluri-national state with equal rights for all nations and people, redistributing land, providing free health [care] and education for everyone, creating what they call a pluri-economy that includes public, private, cooperative and communitarian [aspects]. In four years of power they have eliminated illiteracy, reduced extreme poverty by 6 percent, instituted a seniors’ pension for the first time, nationalized hydrocarbons and achieved a 6.5 percent economic growth.”

Journalist Naomi Klein remarked, “Bolivia is in the midst of a dramatic political transformation; one that has nationalized key industries and elevated the voices of indigenous peoples as never before.”

Atilio Borón, a well-known Argentine intellectual, suggested that Bolivians had just elected “a president committed to the construction of a socialist future for his country.”

These positions were reflections of Morales’ rhetorical embrace of Bolivia’s advance toward “communitarian socialism.” Addressing the crowds amassed outside the Presidential Palace in La Paz following his 2009 re-election, Morales noted that the win provided a space and opportunity to “accelerate the process of change and deepen socialism.”

NEOSTRUCTURALISM

In Latin America, the latest approach to development is frequently called “neoliberalism.” While it signifies a move away from neoliberal orthodoxies, it continues to obfuscate key components of class relations under capitalism and mischaracterizes the state as a neutral actor, fairly arbitrating between conflicting interest groups.

The state’s role in reproducing the conditions for accumulation and enabling the generation of profits for private capital is concealed, as is its repressive role in policing the inevitable class conflicts, and explosions of resistance that occur in response to the exploitation, alienation and dispossession inherent to capitalist society. In reality, the state maintains capitalist order and seeks to regulate its social contradictions, and it does so in the economic and political interests of the ruling class.

Class exploitation and the state repression it frequently necessitates are constituent elements of capitalism, not episodic or anomalous phenomena, as neostructuralists like to

imagine.

The new theory is a reconstituted neoliberalism. This theoretical and practical shift across large parts of Latin America, from neoliberal orthodoxy to a reconstituted neoliberalism under the guise of neostructuralism, has played itself out in the Bolivian context in ways specific to the country.

HIGH GROWTH, LOW SPENDING

As early as the first year of the Morales administration, there were clear signs of deep continuities with the inherited neoliberal model. Most of Morales’ first four years can be described as high growth and low spending. Prior to the fallout of the worldwide economic crisis, which started to affect the Bolivian economy in late 2008 and early 2009, the country’s gross domestic product (GDP) had grown at an average of 4.8 percent under Morales. It peaked at 6.1 percent in 2008, and dropped to an estimated 3.5 percent in 2009, which was still the highest projected growth rate in the region. This growth was based principally on high international prices for hydrocarbons (especially natural gas) and various mining minerals common in Bolivia.

Government revenue increased dramatically because of changes to the hydrocarbons tax regime in 2006, but fiscal policy remained austere until the global crisis struck. Morales ran budget surpluses, tightly reined in inflation and accumulated massive international reserves by Bolivian standards. Public investment in infrastructure, particularly road building, increased significantly, but social spending rose only modestly in absolute terms and actually declined as a percentage of GDP under Morales.

The social consequences of reconstituted neoliberalism have meant almost no change in poverty rates and social inequality under Morales.

One of the dominant theoretical and practical innovations of Latin American neostructural economic theory has been proactive labor flexibility, or the prioritization of state efforts to build consensus among workers around submission to the imperatives of export-led capitalist development in a fiercely competitive world system. States attempt to co-opt and reengineer labor movements so that they abandon class struggle in favor of cross-class cooperation and stability in labor-state relations.

This synergistic relationship is thought to benefit all social classes under the development model, and to advance “systemic competitiveness” of the country as it inserts itself ever more deeply into international markets. In Bolivia under the MAS, this framework has taken the form of strategic co-optation and division of labor and peasant movements on the part of state managers, while capital simultaneously seeks to deepen the flexibility and precariousness of the workforce to its advantage.

POST-NEOLIBERAL TURNS?

The MAS government has incorporated some of the language of indigenous liberation developed by the earlier popular struggles, but has separated its indigenous focus from the material reality facing indigenous people and has not proposed economic reform anywhere near the levels of the mid-20th century nationalist-populist epoch in Bolivia. Levels of state employment in the late 1960s were massively higher than they were after four years of MAS administration, and the state’s proportion of total investment in the country in the late 1960s was 52 percent, by conservative estimates, as compared to the maximum claims of 32 percent today, with ultimate official goals of only 36 percent state participation in GDP.

A look at the mining sector reveals that

the two nationalizations that have taken place — of the Huanuni and Vinto mines — were a consequence of concerted struggles by the mine workers and community allies, which forced the Bolivian government to act. They can hardly be seen as part of the government’s overarching agenda.

Important as these struggles were, the overwhelming majority of active mines in Bolivia are owned and operated by transnational mining capital, principally Indian, Korean, Japanese, Canadian, U.S. and Swiss capital at the moment, with the possibility of French and Russian involvement through lithium development.

REVOLUTIONARY EPOCH

Bolivian popular movements have been at the cutting edge of resistance to neoliberalism in Latin America in recent years. The popular upheavals of the “Water War” against privatization in 2000 turned the tide against 15 years of right-wing assault.

This was followed by the ousting of two neoliberal presidents in the “Gas Wars” of 2003 and 2005. All this laid the basis for Morales’ successful bid to become the country’s first indigenous president, as leader of the MAS, in December 2005.

The left-indigenous insurrectionary period amounted to a revolutionary epoch, even if its main protagonists have not yet achieved a social revolution. As politics shifted from the streets to the electoral terrain after the May–June 2005 revolts and the lead-up to the December 2005 elections, Bolivia witnessed the common turn toward a dampening of revolutionary possibilities and social movements demobilized as a moderate political party came to office.

The election of Morales signified a historic blow against informal apartheid race relations in the country and was rightfully celebrated domestically and internationally as a major democratic step forward for the country. But the MAS had long since abandoned the perspective of simultaneous liberation from class exploitation and racial oppression of the indigenous majority. Rather, the party had shifted toward a crude model of stages, where a much thinner cultural decolonization of race relations was promised immediately, while socialism was deferred to a distant future.

It should perhaps have been less surprising than it was for many that the first year of the Morales government saw only modest breaks with the inherited neoliberal orthodoxies — limited essentially to foreign relations with Cuba and Venezuela and the IMF, and domestic policy in the hydrocarbons sector.

At the same time, while popular movements had struggled for a revolutionary constituent assembly, the actual assembly established by the government in 2006 was a poor substitute, indeed more reminiscent of the proceedings of the existing liberal congress than a participatory and revolutionary rupture with the status quo.

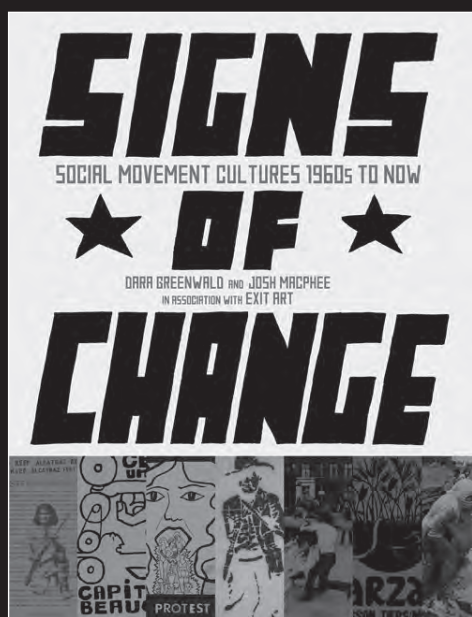
Hope for Bolivia remains with the overwhelmingly indigenous rural and urban popular classes, organizing and struggling independently for themselves against combined capitalist exploitation and racial oppression, with visions of simultaneous indigenous liberation and socialist emancipation guiding them forward, as we witnessed on a grand scale between 2000 and 2005.

Jeffery R. Webber is the author of *From Rebellion to Reform in Bolivia: Class Struggle, Indigenous Liberation, and the Politics of Evo Morales* (Haymarket Books, 2011). This article was excerpted from a longer version that appeared in the September–October 2010 issue of *International Socialist Review*.



OUTDOOR SCHOOLS: in Bolivia are still commonplace, especially for indigenous children like the ones pictured here. Under President Evo Morales, the socialist government has increased international monetary reserves, but social spending has decreased as a percentage of GDP. PHOTO: UN

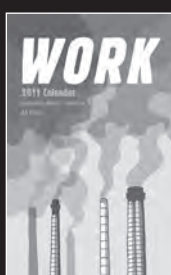
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REVIEWS

Reclaiming Violence

Black Bloc, White Riot: Anti-Globalization and the Genealogy of Dissent
AK THOMPSON
AK PRESS, 2010

Black Bloc, White Riot is a postmortem of the anti-globalization movement without apologies. Drawing on his experience as a participant, Thompson attempts to understand the (unrealized) potential of this movement. In the process, he takes on the assumed wisdom on the left.

Much of the energy of the North American anti-globalization movement was spent running away from the privileges of its participants. Whether asking where the people of color were in Seattle or chucking the elitist strategy of hopping from one trade summit to another in favor of engaging in local organizing with the "oppressed," self-criticism abounded. Thompson does not ignore the privileges of the participants in this struggle, but he suggests that our analysis should not end there. Instead of bemoaning the largely white middle-class nature of the movement or arguing that the real action was in the global South, Thompson attempts to take white middle-class activists seriously as political actors.

While the title of *Black Bloc, White Riot* is a riff on Marxist psychoanalyst's Frantz Fanon's *Black Skins, White Masks* as much as a reference to The Clash, the content owes more to Fanon's seminal book on the Algerian War of Independence, *The Wretched of the Earth*. Thompson attempts to recuperate the category of violence, arguing that violence is foundational to politics. Much as Fanon argued that colonized peoples have to take up arms in order to constitute themselves as

political actors, Thompson posits that activists have to engage in violence — defined broadly — to break free of the realm of representation into the real. In his view, activities such as culture-jamming or symbolic protest remain within the confines of the society of the spectacle; it is only direct action that has the potential to fundamentally transform both society and the (largely white middle class) activists that participate in it. Or, in other words, you have to break the windows of a few Starbucks to make a movement.

For Thompson, the riot operates as both a central concept and the limit of the anti-globalization movement. It is in the "open-ended field" of the riot that participants can experiment with different ways of organizing society. He argues that, "the riot yields political subjects that are able to change the world, subjects that — through the process of transformation the riot entails — are forced to confront the unwritten future within them."

Taking the riot for the horizon reveals the poverty of ambition of both Thompson's text and the anti-globalization movement. If the goal is fundamentally reorganizing society, not simply creating a "temporary autonomous zone," riots can be at most a beginning, not an ending. As Thompson himself admits, his focus on riots shows how far social movements have to go.

Although provocative and often insightful, *Black Bloc, White Riot* falls short as a work of analysis. Moreover, for an author who valorizes action, Thompson's prose can be rather abstruse. Nonetheless, it is an intriguing exploration of the legacy and potential of the anti-globalization movement.

—MATT WASSERMAN

When John Brown Won

Fire on the Mountain
TERRY BISSON
PM PRESS, 2009

Near the end of Terry Bisson's utopian novel *Fire on the Mountain*, one character, Yasmin, receives a book of alternative history. Titled *John Brown's Body*, the story is as absurd as it is unsettling. The militant abolitionist Brown fails in his raid on Harpers Ferry and is captured and executed; after a brief civil war, the U.S. capitalist class unites, conquers much of the continent, and gradually asserts its influence over the entire planet. War, exploitation and oppression follow.

Yasmin's daughter, Harriet, shivers and says, "That's why I don't like science fiction. It's always junk like that. I'll take the real world."

After all, she knows better: Brown and his co-commander Harriet Tubman didn't fail at

Harpers Ferry in 1859 but successfully escaped into the Blue Ridge Mountains. There they launched the Army of the North Star, and night after night, their enormous bonfires could be seen raging high on the mountaintops, calling others to join the guerrilla war against slavery. And join they did — from enslaved Africans to white abolitionists, from Italian and Mexican republicans led by Giuseppe Garibaldi to English workers led by Karl Marx. What began as an anti-slavery struggle developed into a war for independence and Black self-determination, and, eventually, the land south of the Mason-Dixon line became a new nation, Nova Africa. Not long after, Nova Africa embarked on the road to socialism. And 100 years later, in Harriet's "real world" of 1959, Nova Africa's neighbor to the north, the U.S.S.A., has followed.

This is the premise of Bisson's *Fire on the Mountain*, released in a new edition by PM Press. Al-



Dancing with Dynamite: Social Movements and States in Latin America
BENJAMIN DANGEL
AK PRESS, 2010

Dancing With the State

Dangel, the relationship between social movements and left-leaning governments takes on two basic forms: either social movements get states to grant their demands, such as land redistribution or social welfare programs, or the state co-opts, demobilizes or otherwise saps the strength of social movements. Or, sometimes, both.

Dangel seems loathe to admit that there can be a dialectic, productive relationship between social movements and states, wherein movements not only push governments to the left, but states also create space for and strengthen social movement activity. This is a particularly striking omission given that this is the process that his chapter on Venezuela depicts. The Communal Councils that Dangel discusses as means of community self-organization and empowerment were created by Chavez's fiat.

It is perhaps useful here to remember the history of the New Deal. Roosevelt passed laws under pressure from social movements, but these same laws in turn laid the groundwork for further social movement gains. After the passage of the Wagner Act, the CIO recruited millions into the labor movement under the slogan, "President Roosevelt wants you to join the union."

In his conclusion, Dangel attempts to draw lessons from South American struggles for the North American left, focusing on the

transmission of tactics such as factory occupations or occupations of foreclosed homes. The real lessons to be drawn from the left turn in South America, however, are more strategic than tactical.

The most radical processes of social transformation that Dangel discusses, those taking place in Venezuela and Bolivia, are precisely the ones where strong social movements are closely connected to the state. By contrast, the piqueteros of Argentina and landless workers of Brazil, without strong ties to any electoral party, have been unable to convert their mobilizations into similar social gains. While Dangel is right that the left cannot simply vote and then go home, he is wrong to counsel so strongly against the perils of social movements dancing with the state.

The choice between taking state power and turning one's back on the state is a false dilemma. It is high time for the left to move beyond stale debates that hark back to the First International and instead try to understand how actual processes of social transformation take place. While this is a question for practice, at the moment South America is a laboratory of practice. And for all its limitations, *Dancing with Dynamite* is a fascinating account of the experiments happening there.

—MATT WASSERMAN

though originally published 22 years ago in France as *Nova Africa*, it is a book that continues to provoke questions about how and why our world is the way it is — and how it might be different.

Bisson relates his alternate version of history through several perspectives: the written testimonial of a teenage slave who joins Brown and Tubman's army; the letters of a white abolitionist doctor who is radicalized by the uprising; and a third-person narrative that follows Yasmin and Harriet in 1959 as they bring the aforementioned testimonial (written by their ancestor) to Harpers Ferry on the centennial of the raid. Such a structure suggests that history itself is better understood as a multiplicity of narratives, generated by the distinct but interwoven experiences of many people as they navigate the shared, fundamental contours of their world. Bisson's technique allows us to glimpse these fundamental contours —

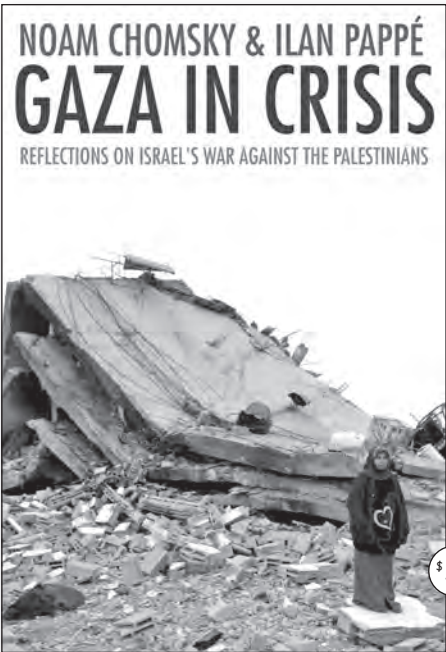


slavery and capitalism, war and revolution, socialism and national liberation.

In his introduction, Mumia Abu-Jamal praises the vision of this novel as "one born in a revolutionary, and profoundly humanistic, consciousness." Indeed, there is something revolutionary about re-imagining the past, turning history inside out and extracting visions of a different

world. *Fire on the Mountain* does all of this in a way that is engaging and often inspiring — but this is no mere exercise in radical fantasizing. Rather, by considering what has been, and creating a narrative of what could have been, Bisson reminds us that what is yet to come remains unwritten.

— SCOTT BORCHERT



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—Publishers
Weekly

Noam Chomsky Ilán Pappé

Reflections on
Israel's War Against
the Palestinians

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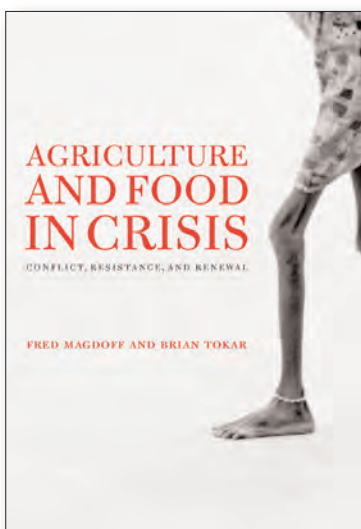
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MODERN ART

Abstract Politicism

Abstract Expressionist New York
 The Museum of Modern Art
 Oct. 3, 2010 — April 25, 2011

It looks simple enough. A large canvas, evenly coated in deep burgundy, with some sparse vertical stripes in muted colors. The painting is Barnett Newman’s *Vir Heroicus Sublimis* (1950-51), and he created it as a profound expression of his life-long anarchist politics. As Newman once said about his artwork, “if...others could read it properly it would mean the end of all state capitalism and totalitarianism.”

Vir Heroicus Sublimis is one of many works on view at “Abstract Expressionist New York,” a sprawling show at the Museum of Modern Art that seeks to provide not just an overview of Abstract Expressionism in general — those artists who famously explored the evocative potential of unadulterated form, line and color — but also an image of their New York City milieu (Abstract Expressionism was arguably not so much an American art form as a New York art form). It’s an impressive and overwhelming show, filled with big, beautiful paintings: there’s Jackson Pollock’s show-stopping *One, Number 31, 1950* (1950), with a loping, flailing rhythm that seems almost cosmic, and there are Mark Rothko canvases with their buzzing, luminous, open spaces.

You can learn a lot at this show, but you won’t learn too much about the political origins of Abstract Expressionism, not to mention the fact that many of these artists cut their teeth through the New Deal’s Federal Art Project. For example, Pollock began his career making floats and banners for Communist Party demonstrations, and many others joined communist arts organizations like the American Artists’ Congress and the Artists Union,

These politics are not readily visible in the artwork — they weren’t meant to be. By the time they turned to purely abstract art, the Abstract Expressionists had largely given up on the organized left, having been thoroughly disillusioned by the brutality of the Soviet Union, the 1939 Hitler-Stalin pact, and the closed-circuit nature of American communist groups. But, that doesn’t mean politics weren’t still informing their artwork. As art historian Annette Cox wrote in her 1982 book *Art-as-Politics: The Abstract Expressionist Avant-Garde and Society*, “in the eyes of the Abstract Expressionists, modernism was a necessary choice for a culture whose traditional subjects and forms had been exhausted. ... They sought to create a modernist art that echoed the radical commitment most of them had shared during the Depression.”

The Abstract Expressionists were heavily influenced by Freudian and Surrealist concepts of the subconscious: by relying on an intuitive approach to art, they were trying to create something intimately, uniquely human. Their sharp turn inward towards human emotion and psychology was (at least partly) a bid to create a new, less-destructive society based on the fundamental truths of human experience.

It may be a stretch, but it’s possible to see a political lexicon seeping into these artworks. Rothko’s paintings look like fields of pure light, but they also look like flags. Adolph Gottlieb’s arresting *Blast, I* (1957),

with its clearly partitioned glyphs of quotidian struggle and explosive, red divinity, feels like a propaganda poster.

For the most part, though, this stuff doesn’t *look* political, which means that it can easily get co-opted. As early as 1952, the CIA was mounting Abstract Expressionist exhibitions, with abstract paintings meant to serve as an example of American cultural supremacy during the Cold War.

It doesn’t help that the Abstract Expressionists exhibited a macho, boy’s club aura. Many of the artists were deeply invested in a cult of individualistic heroism, expressing what critic Renato Poggioli called “spiritual megalomania.” Clyfford Still (whose crackling, melancholy paintings are a highlight of the MoMA show), opined that “a single stroke of paint ... could restore to man the freedom lost in twenty centuries of apologies and devices for subjugation.”

But without left politics, this artwork wouldn’t exist at all. Political convictions are just one of the many things that inform these paintings — they are not works of activism or some sort of densely-coded propaganda. But to look at them apolitically would be incomplete.

The Museum of Modern Art, with its wealthy backers and broad audience, is vague about politics. Despite this, readers of this article can go to the museum, check out the show, and think about politics the whole damn time.

—MIKE NEWTON



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ADOLPH GOTTLIEB *Blast, I* (1957)
 Museum of Modern Art.

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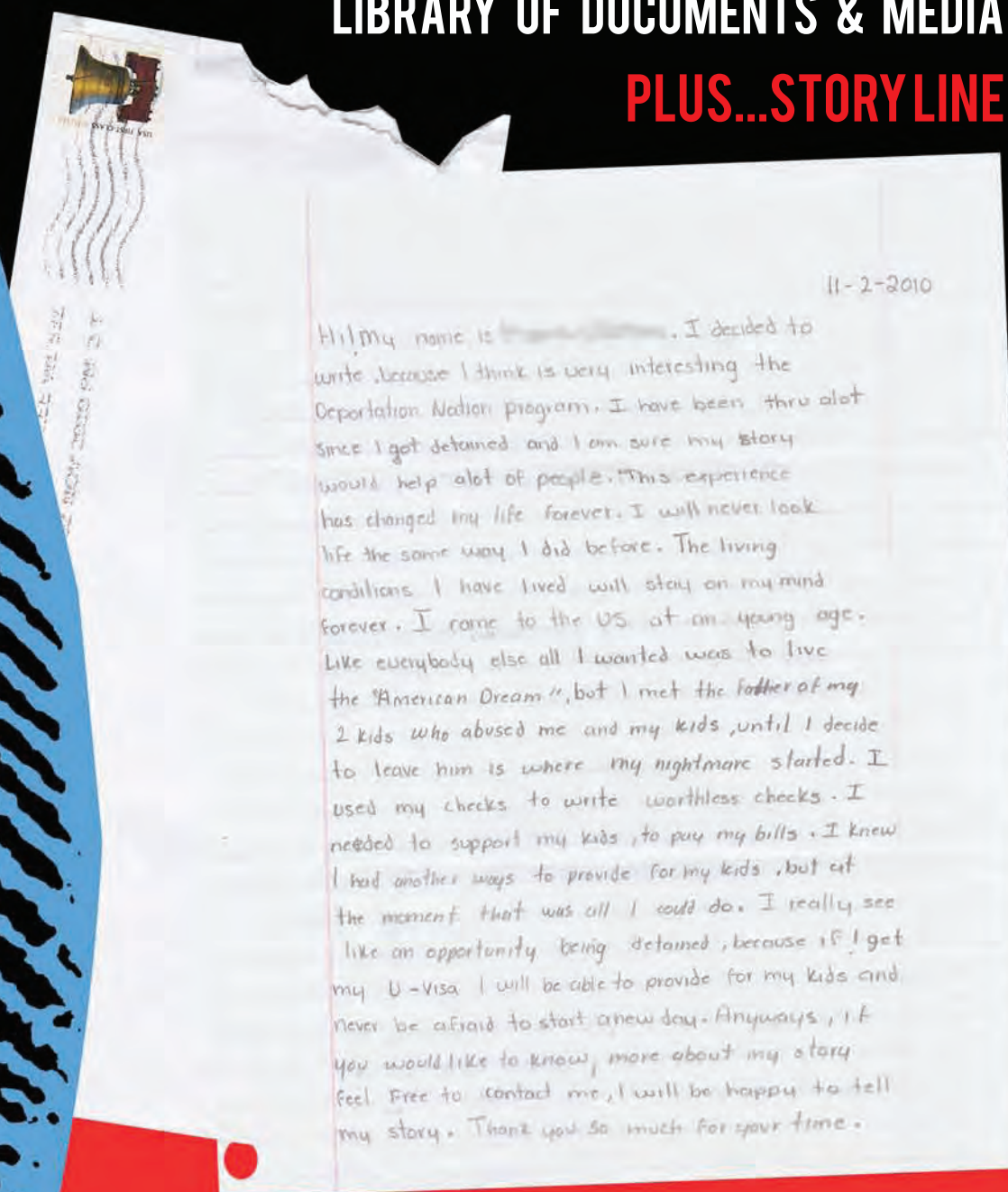
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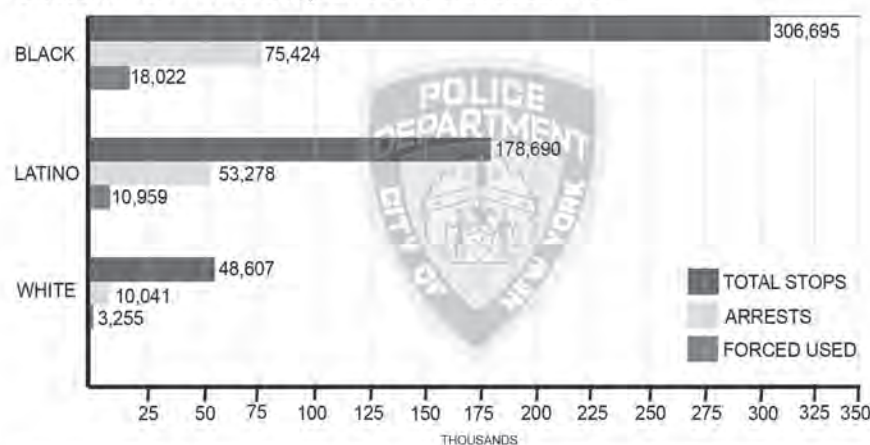
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Insecure Communities

Outcome of NYPD Stop and Frisk Encounters



Source: Analysis of NYPD stop and frisk data (2004-2009) by Prof. Jeffrey Fagan, PhD

Continued from page 11

crime, or afraid to testify. It could actually interfere with law enforcement and public safety."

But advocates want Paterson to rescind the agreement before Cuomo replaces him in January. They have support from State Senator Jose Peralta (D-Queens), who is gathering signatures from his colleagues for a letter calling on Paterson to suspend the agreement. It says a suspension "would allow time ... to assess the potential costs and consequences of S-Comm on issues such as community safety, effective policing, civil rights (including the potential of racial profiling), fiscal costs and liabilities, among others."

Part of the challenge opponents face is that ICE agents already interview inmates in New York's prisons about their immigration status. Their presence is part of the "Criminal Alien Program," a precursor to Secure Communities that targets immigrants in prisons and large jails, including Rikers Island.

"A lot of law enforcement agencies are already comfortable with ICE in their facilities," said Aizeki.

But the impact of Secure Communities would be much broader.

"Before, you'd have to be in Rikers Island for ICE to pick you up," said Ragbir. "With Secure Communities you'll be identified at the precinct level before you're released. So any interaction with the police becomes a point of fear."

IN NEW YORK CITY, COUNCIL MEMBERS WITH large immigrant constituencies plan to introduce measures to remove ICE agents from the Rikers Island jail and request that the city opt out of Secure Communities. They include council members Ydanis Rodriguez of Washington Heights, Daniel Dromm and Julissa Ferreras of Jackson Heights, and Jumaane D. Williams, whose district includes parts of central Brooklyn.

But while the council has a history of passing resolutions against Arizona's SB 1070, Mayor Michael Bloomberg's office has issued statements in favor of Secure Communities. Without his blessing, Speaker Christine Quinn may thwart a vote on opting out.

This shifts advocates' focus back to asking Paterson to use a clause in the state's agree-

ment with ICE that allows either party to terminate or suspend Secure Communities. During his time in office, the governor put limits on records NYPD keeps about innocent people subjected to stop and frisk, and created a board to pardon crimes committed by immigrants who have become productive members of society.

"The pardon panel could benefit a small number of people," said Aizeki. "But Secure Communities will throw thousands more New Yorkers into the same detention and deportation system that he's already acknowledged is unjust."

Now advocates say Paterson could seal his civil rights legacy on his way out. Immigrants like Adam will be watching from the shadows.

"The way I look at it, the program is portrayed as way to get criminals off streets," said Adam. "But in reality it's an excuse to come after all of us. It's a trap."

Renée Feltz & Stokely Baksh co-produce *DeportationNation.org*, an investigative reporting website that critically examines immigration enforcement programs mandated to target "dangerous criminal aliens." The project is funded by a Soros Justice Fellowship, part of the Open Society Institute.

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THE -STRING

FROM CONSERVAPEDIA TO BROOKLYN ROCK

BY STEVE WISHNIA

There isn't much overtly right-wing music. Ted Nugent is known as a far-right rock star for his "God, guts, and guns" spiel, but his favorite lyric subject is sex. Sure, there's the occasional jingoistic country hit by Toby Keith or Lee Greenwood, and a small subculture of "white power" skinhead rock, but overall the vast majority of popular music ranges from apolitical to leftist.

Conservapedia, the website whose creators believe Wikipedia has a "liberal bias" because it doesn't treat "young-earth creationism" as legitimate science, is trying to remedy that. It has a growing list of the 68 "greatest conservative songs," based on criteria like patriotism, religiosity, Southern pride and appropriate sexual values.

The list is heavy on country ("virtually anything by Toby Keith") and '70s Southern rock and prog-rock. However, some of its selections are quite a stretch. Yes, '70s hits like Orleans' "Still the One" and Harry Chapin's "Cat's in the Cradle" were respectively "a tribute to fidelity in relationships" and expressed the importance of "responsible fatherhood," but Orleans' lead singer John Hall became a liberal congressman, and Chapin regularly played benefits for Michael Moore's first newspaper. "Love Me, I'm a Liberal," by '60s protest singer Phil Ochs, is about "revealing liberal hypocrisy"—the hypocrisy of liberals who denounce the left instead of living up to their principles. And the Flying Burrito Brothers' "Sin City," an early country-rock tune, "attacks modern decadence and predicts divine punishment for sin"—but it warns the rich that their gold-plated doors won't protect them, mourns the murder of Robert F. Kennedy, and was written by Gram Parsons, who did so much dope that Keith Richards worried about his health. (Parsons, a seminal figure in country-rock, died of a morphine overdose in 1973.)

Conservapedia could find more explicitly right-wing music by digging deeper into American history. In the 1920s, the Indianapolis-based KKK label put out records like "Why I Am a Klansman." (Pho-

nograph inventor Thomas Edison called it a "fair tune," but refused to distribute such "trash" on his label.) The '60s saw the obscure genre of segregationist country, with acts named Johnny Rebel, James Crow and Odis Cochran and the Three Bigots. (Their song titles fixated on one six-letter word.)

Enough mocking the far right. How about something good and something home-grown? Two new CDs by Brooklyn rock singer-songwriters, RebelMart's *Amalgamated Saboteurs Local 21* and Lorraine Leckie's *Martini Eyes*, fill the bill.

RebelMart is the one-man band of Scott M.X. Turner, who previously played in the Spunk Lads — "a long-lost English '77 punk band" — and the Devil's Advocates. (Disclaimer: I've played with Turner in two bands.) He's a fiercely political songwriter who frenetically flays a frayed-paint Telecaster [electric] guitar. An Irish-American Joe Strummer might be a good place to start your imagination.

Turner was active in the campaign to stop developer Bruce Ratner from demolishing several blocks of Brooklyn (including his favorite venue, Freddy's Bar) for a taxpayer-supported real-estate scheme. Disgusted after that campaign lost, he decamped for Seattle. As a result, *Amalgamated Saboteurs Local 21* has a lot of songs about defeat, laments for a doomed Brooklyn. "Ruby's Bar still wears the crown, but Thor's hammer is a-comin' down," he rages on the opening track. The music leaps eclectically but cohesively, from '77-punk blast to driving acoustica to dub-wise groove to Celt-flavored balladry. "The Devil Down in the Water," Turner's Hurricane Katrina song, gets transformed into a dirge with a tolling bodhrán drum.

The album encompasses Americana from the 7 train to the Dust Bowl, contrasting Seattle's "first ever Hooverville" with its latte-and-computers image, and mourning the lonely, alcoholic death of Stephen Foster, "like a 19th-century rock star," Turner said at a recent show in Brooklyn. It closes with a harmonica moaning like a dying prairie campfire.

Martini Eyes is Lorraine Leckie's solo project; she usually plays with a full band (Lorraine Leckie and Her Demons), in territory somewhere between Patti Smith and



LUCY VALKYRIE

Neil Young. It's a stark, minimal album, usually just voice and acoustic guitar or piano, with discreet touches of bass and harmonica. (Disclaimer: She's also a friend of mine; we met a few years ago, at the protest against the eviction of Tonic.)

Leckie says she wrote the first track, "Don't Giggle at the Corpse," after going to too many funerals for friends. Told in a childlike deadpan singsong, it's ostensibly addressed to a kid, but could just as well be aimed at your/her inner imp.

*Don't giggle at the corpse
You're not a child anymore
It's a serious matter, you little mad hatter
Don't giggle at the corpse*

"Trouble" contains the line "Crazy girls are easy to love/By morning you've had enough." Yes, I know.

The songs' styles vary from the revenge waltz of "Mississippi" to the theatrical "I Met a Man" — a drug-smuggling tale paced

by nervous, repetitive piano — but the album sustains its simple, late-night kitchen-table feel. In a time when we're incessantly bombarded by media, ads, video and electronic beep-alerts, such quietness is revolutionary—it forces us to shut out the noise and pay attention to other humans. Both these albums are shining examples of how musicians may lose celebrity-market potential as they reach middle age, but they've got a lot more craft and emotional depth to show.

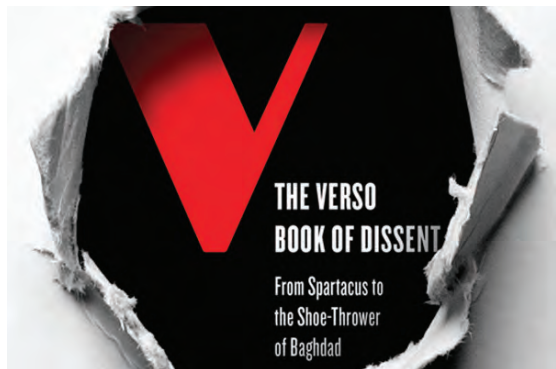
Meanwhile, if you want some proudly Southern music that's unlikely to make Conservapedia's list, check out *Blues Mix Vol. 1: Super Soul Blues* (Ecko). I'm particularly enjoying O.B. Buchana's "We Don't Get Along Until We Gettin' It On," David Brinston's slow-burning "Back on the Backstreets," and Luther Lackey's advice grooves, "Man Up to It" and "If She's Cheatin' on Me, I Don't Wanna Know."



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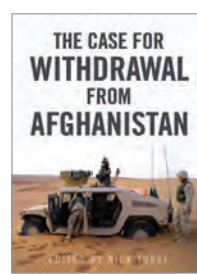
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